

1937
PACIFIC AREA

THE STUDY OF
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS IN THE
PACIFIC AREA

*A Review of Nine Years' Work
in the International Program of
the Institute of Pacific Relations*



Issued by the Secretariat
INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

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PUBLICATION OFFICE, 129 EAST 52ND STREET, NEW YORK

1936 .

Additional copies of this pamphlet may be obtained from the Publications Office of the Institute of Pacific Relations at 129 East 52nd Street, New York, or from the offices of the National Councils. For addresses see inside covers.

Printed in China, by Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., Shanghai

CONTENTS OF PART ONE

	Page
I. INTRODUCTORY	I
II. THE NEED FOR RESEARCH	2
III. THE MAIN FIELDS OF RESEARCH	3
1. Food Supply, Population and Land Utilization	5
2. Industrial Development in the Far East	12
3. Rural Economic and Social Changes in the Far East	15
4. Tariffs, Raw Materials, Foreign Trade and Investments	17
5. Economic and Political Development in Manchuria	19
6. Dependencies, Native Peoples and Colonial Development	21
7. Social and Cultural Relations	23
8. Migration and Immigration Restriction	25
9. Standards of Living	27
10. International Law, Diplomatic Machinery and Political Developments	29
IV. RESEARCH IN THE NATIONAL COUNCILS	31
V. CURRENT INFORMATION <i>vs</i> LONG-TERM RESEARCH	40
VI. RESEARCH POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION	44
VII. RELATIONS BETWEEN RESEARCH AND CONFERENCE	49
VIII. THE VALUE OF THE WORK	51
APPENDIX	55
Finances: Revenues, Expenditures, Local Contributions.	
List of Projects Grouped by National Councils.	

PREFACE

THIS review of the research work of the Institute of Pacific Relations, is intended to serve as a report on progress for the meetings of the International Research Committee at the time of the Sixth Conference to be held at Yosemite Park, California, in August, 1936. In issuing it, however, the Secretariat hopes that it may be of interest to research workers and institutions in many countries, especially those concerned with conditions in Pacific countries and with international relations in general. No such comprehensive survey has been available since April, 1933, when a similar report was prepared for the Banff Conference. The Institute, as a whole, has now passed its first decade of existence, the international research program is in its ninth year, and the next twelve months will probably witness the publication of many of the more important research reports. For these reasons it has seemed appropriate to issue this pamphlet to a somewhat wider circle than the Institute committees and the conference members. To accompany the survey the Secretariat has also issued, under the title *Publications on the Pacific*, a classified, annotated catalogue of Institute publications, providing convenient means of reference for those interested in particular topics or books.

The research work of the Institute owes much to the advice and leadership of those who have served as administrative officials on its committees. Dr. James T. Shotwell, the first chairman of the International Research Committee and Dr. J. B. Condliffe, the first Research Secretary laid the foundations for the program and made possible its subsequent development. To them and to the late Mr. Charles P. Howland, to Dr. Shiroshi Nasu and to Dr. Carl L. Alsberg who have served in turn as chairmen of the Committee, the Secretariat desires to express its thanks for their wise counsel and assistance.

New York,
April 23, 1936.

W. L. HOLLAND,
Research Secretary.

THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS IN THE PACIFIC AREA

I. INTRODUCTORY

THE Institute of Pacific Relations is an international organization founded in 1925 for the study of the conditions of the Pacific peoples. It is unofficial in character and consists today of ten independent national societies in Australia, Canada, China, Great Britain, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Philippines, the Soviet Union and the United States. Though it is perhaps best known to the general public by its regular conferences and its quarterly journal *Pacific Affairs*, the Institute has also been responsible for a large program of research in the social sciences, ranging over many subjects of importance in international relations and carried out in many countries of the Pacific region. Many of the results of this research program are embodied in a wide range of books and pamphlets published under the auspices of the various National Councils or of the Secretariat. The published reports alone, however, give a very incomplete picture of the whole program for many of the important studies are still unfinished and new projects are continually being initiated.

Research has been an essential part of the Institute's activities since its beginning, but because such work proceeds quietly and attracts little public attention, it may come as a surprise to many readers to learn how far-reaching, both in subject matter and in geographical range, the program of studies has been. In the nine years since the international research program was initiated some seventy separate projects have been undertaken in China, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Java, British Malaya, New Zealand, Australia, Samoa, Hawaii, the Japanese Mandated Islands, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States. They include a series of parallel inquiries into conditions of land utilization, food supply and population growth in five Pacific countries, a group of studies on the progress of modern industrialism in China and Japan, projects on changing standards of living in nine Pacific countries, on economic and political problems of Manchuria, on colonial government and dependencies and on trade, tariffs, foreign investment and raw materials in the Pacific

area. Institute support has made it possible for the leading universities of Nanking, Tientsin and Tokyo to develop a corps of research workers who have worked continuously on I.P.R. projects for the last seven or eight years. Under Institute auspices an increasing international cooperation in research has been fostered, both by actual interchange of scholars and by securing their participation in studies involving several countries.

The tangible results of the whole program as manifested in the books already published in the nine years since the plan was inaugurated, have been of demonstrated value both in the academic world and in the sphere of public affairs. Nor indeed has the work been without its human interest and elements of the dramatic. Institute research has by no means been a leisurely examination of documents or statistics in libraries, as those investigators can testify who have had to spend winters in the settlement areas of North Manchuria, or have lost the results of weeks of work in encounters with bandits. Their physical discomforts have been paralleled by a host of technical difficulties in the collection of information—the absence or the errors of statistics and documents, the lack of trained assistants, and the ignorance or indifference of communities.

II. THE NEED FOR RESEARCH

The need for a research program showed itself early in the development of the I.P.R. Committed as it is to a democratic procedure in its conferences where citizens of many callings and many nationalities meet for the discussion of difficult problems of international controversy, the Institute must face the dangers of prejudiced and narrow opinions that arise out of ignorance or misunderstanding of the facts in a situation. The best antidote for these is a means by which accurate and up-to-date information can be made available to individuals. The need for such information is more urgent when the points of controversy have to do with regions like many parts of the Pacific area, where many of the elementary facts and figures, whose existence is taken for granted in western countries, are not easily available to the public if they exist at all.

Thus at the first conference of the Institute in 1925, it soon became apparent to those taking part that they had come to grips with a problem—the effects of restrictive and discriminatory im-

migration laws—where the facts of population increase, land utilization and food production, standards of living and the like were either unreliable or unknown. Yet it was on the basis of such alleged “facts” that social attitudes were moulded that had their outcome in immigration restrictions. The situation has thus been described in the *Handbook of the Institute*.

“Even a brief discussion of immigration showed that the attitudes taken depended upon economic, social and biological conceptions for which little scientific evidence could be adduced, and which in fact were nothing more than prejudices rationalized from limited experience. The very definition of “race” is uncertain, and there is extremely little ascertained and verified fact upon which to base conclusions regarding the biological or social effects of race mixture. Even in regard to economic and political conceptions, there is surprisingly little accurate information of a descriptive character, and less analysis that has borne the test of observation and experiment. No accurate measurements have been made of standards of living, and the very term is vaguely defined, though it is bandied about freely in discussions not only of immigration restriction but also of tariffs, international labor legislation and similar subjects of international controversy. There are even greater and more obvious gaps in our information concerning the most elementary facts of population, food supply and industrial progress which underlie and shape practically all the political problems which vex the Pacific area. Deeper still, and more difficult of approach, lie the divergent social and cultural ideals and institutions of the Pacific countries.”

The same need for study and research made itself evident even in the 1927 Conference on China’s foreign relations where the central point at issue—Sino-British relations—was perhaps less entangled with economic considerations than the question of immigration restriction, and, of course, infinitely less complicated than the problems of Manchuria which were faced in the subsequent conferences of 1929 and 1931. It is interesting to note that the Institute of Pacific Relations had, in 1928—over three years before the open clash came with the occupation of Mukden in September, 1931—set in motion a series of researches on Manchurian problems, involving the cooperation of Chinese, Japanese, American and British scholars. The published results of these inquiries not only provided the ground work for the discussions of the Kyoto Conference in 1929, but later played a significant rôle in educating world opinion and in informing the authorities who had to deal with the issues as they came before the League of Nations.

III. THE MAIN FIELDS OF RESEARCH

The acknowledged need for some continuing program of study

led the I.P.R. in 1927, at the time of the second conference, to set up the financial and administrative machinery for a research program. An international standing committee was appointed to advise the governing body on matters of research, together with a permanent secretary, as a member of the Secretariat. A modest sum was made available from the general funds of the Institute to subsidize promising studies of interest to the organization and relations were established with other bodies to which the Institute was able occasionally to refer certain important projects that were pertinent to its program but too large for it to direct or finance at that early stage. Later, after completing a survey of existing research facilities and personnel in China and Japan and after more adequate financial resources had been secured through the generosity of the Rockefeller Foundation, the Institute was able to initiate its first formal program in 1928. Of the \$12,000 appropriated, the greater part was allocated to studies which in one form or another have long held a central place in the subsequent research work and conference discussions of the Institute. They included three studies dealing with the political, legal and economic aspects of the Manchurian problem—as yet a topic of only slight public concern but soon to be spread over newspaper headlines. Next were two studies of population and land utilization in China and Japan—the beginning of a continuing research program in five countries. Finally there was a pioneer study (on British Malaya) which was to lead to a more systematic inquiry into problems of dependencies, native peoples and colonial government in the Pacific. In addition to these, the Institute was able to refer several other large projects to appropriate institutions in the United States and to have funds for their prosecution provided by the Social Science Research Council. Notable among these was an investigation of consumption of agricultural products in Eastern Asia, entrusted to the Food Research Institute, Stanford University, and a study of the international economic and financial relations of China placed under the trusteeship of the Brookings Institution, Washington.

Aside from these larger inquiries, the Institute at this early stage found it possible, by means of small publication subsidies to its National Councils and individual researchers, to make available for the Institute's purposes a large amount of useful work nearing completion which would otherwise have been de-

layed for some considerable time and probably left unpublished.

It would be possible to continue from this point and show how from this beginning the Institute's program has been broadened and deepened and how the emphasis on various fields of research has been influenced by the I.P.R. conferences and by the changing current of political and economic relations of the Pacific area. For the purposes of this survey, however, it is more convenient to forego such a chronological statement and to attempt instead an analysis of the whole period since 1928 by grouping the separate projects under ten broad subject divisions. The year-to-year development of the program may be seen in the Appendix where each project is listed separately.

Obviously in such a classification there can be no watertight or completely logical sub-divisions, for it is a characteristic of many I.P.R. research projects that they overlap into several of the customary academic subjects. Not a little of their importance derives from that fact—that they lie on the little studied frontier regions of the social sciences. A further point to be noted is that neither the intrinsic importance of projects nor their relative value in the I.P.R. program can be judged merely by the amount of time or money spent on them, for the conditions of investigation vary so widely in the different countries. The fact that a certain region or a certain project does not receive mention in this report does not necessarily mean that the problem has been overlooked. On the contrary it may mean that an adequate study has already been made or that the information needed could be secured without the aid of the I.P.R. international research funds. This point must be kept in mind when considering the relative expenditures on different projects or by different National Councils, for it explains what might otherwise appear as a somewhat unbalanced allocation of funds.

I. PROBLEMS OF FOOD SUPPLY, POPULATION AND LAND UTILIZATION.

These studies have constituted the foundation of I.P.R. research work and in each research program up to 1935. Although the largest studies have been made in China and Japan, the program has also included original investigations in Australia, New Zealand, Korea and the Philippines, while two related projects (mentioned above) were financed at the suggestion of the

I.P.R. by the Social Science Research Council in North America and entrusted to the Food Research Institute, Stanford University. On all but one of these the actual research has now been completed and publication of the reports is either completed or in progress.

Obviously the International Research Committee would never have made so large and so continuous an outlay in one field had it not been convinced of the profound importance of the subject. But even if so much is taken for granted, these studies of population and food supply warrant a somewhat fuller explanation than would normally be called for in such a review as this. It provides the reader who is not personally familiar with the Institute conferences, with a necessary insight into an important characteristic of the Institute's technique and philosophy.

These researches had their genesis in the first Institute conference where the participants were soon brought up hard against the fact that the roots of most of the apparently political and social questions of international controversy went deep into the fundamental relations between land and population in the Pacific countries. But they found that for the two areas of great importance, the amount of available scientific knowledge was inadequate for an intelligent judgment to be formed on such international irritants as tariff and shipping policies, or immigration restriction regulations. Subsequent conferences have only confirmed the truth of that discovery. Whether it was a discussion of the motives for Japan's assertion of special rights in Manchuria or an examination of the policies of economic development in the dependent territories of the Pacific, or a controversy on the best lines of economic development in China, the proceedings could never go very far away from that social equation which is expressed, however crudely, by the ratio population per square mile, or acres per family.

Few persons will dispute the influence of population pressures on the course of international affairs. The student of ancient cultures is continually reminded of the fact, and anyone who doubts its bearing on the international relations of today will find much to disturb him in the recent history of Japan or even in the arguments of the Japanese government during the course of the Manchurian dispute. For let it be noted, a conviction, however erroneously founded, is just as solid a reality in the conduct of

international relations as a tangible object in the physical world, and a public belief, say in the existence of over-population, may nowadays be as potent a force as visible evidence of famine, unless there is a body of accepted scientific fact which can be used to test convictions and separate illusion from reality.

Even in western Europe and America where the phenomena are more amenable to systematic observation, there are still many aspects of population changes on which scientific opinion is uncertain. The Malthusian devil is an elusive being of Protean habits and there is no single charm that will reveal his presence in all situations, especially in situations differing so widely among themselves as those round the Pacific area. But in the Pacific area where the world's regions of densest population co-exist with its emptiest lands and where the possibilities of international political crises arising out of population pressure are so much greater, the elementary facts of population and food or raw material resources are but half known, and on the subtle secondary aspects of population saturation, there was until recently almost complete ignorance.

For it is the secondary aspects that will weigh most in the balance. To affirm or deny the existence of white perils or yellow perils has little to do with the question. Population movements nowadays are likely to show themselves but rarely in gigantic overflowings of people from crowded areas; modern economic development has created too many other channels for diverting the pressure. They will be revealed rather in less dramatic things such as changes in the terms of international trade, alterations in the structure of industrial production, re-alignments of foreign policy and international competition for markets and supplies of raw materials. These are important as all symptoms are important—because they point to the existence of an underlying and more deep seated maladjustment.

If that maladjustment is to be corrected, it must be first understood, and therein lies the ultimate reason for the Institute's sustained emphasis in these early years, on questions of land utilization and population. Research projects of such magnitude and in such difficult fields must of necessity hasten slowly; but the results so far made available hold out the promise that the whole plan will be well justified. In particular the forthcoming report on the coordination of the existing national studies will

provide an answer to those members of the Institute whose primary interest is in discovering the international political and economic bearings of land and population questions.

The policy of concentrating much of the work in China and Japan in the University of Nanking and Tokyo Imperial University has had valuable results. It has made it possible to keep together for a period of several years a corps of investigators and clerical assistants, and thus to give them an intensive specialized training that would be impossible in smaller or shorter projects. It means the building up of strong centres of local research which can continue in the same or different avenues of inquiry after the Institute project is ended. In Tokyo a small corps of graduate students in the Department of Agriculture of the Imperial University, under the direction of Dr. Shiroshi Nasu, has been engaged in this way on two Institute studies since 1928. Moreover in China where the difficulty of securing not only trained investigators but even assistants for routine calculation and editing or proof-reading, is much greater than in Japan, the policy has brought great financial economies as well as educational benefits. In a cultural environment where statistical work is a new thing and the value of applying scientific, patient methods of study to the everyday facts of economic life is only beginning to be appreciated, such skill can only be acquired slowly. The training of student investigators under the direction of Dr. J. Lossing Buck in a centre like the University of Nanking is not the least of the results of concentrating research funds in a few institutions at a time.

Students who have read Dr. Nasu's preliminary report *Land Utilization in Japan*¹ will realise that the excellent organization of local agricultural statistics in Japan makes it possible to employ methods of quantitative analysis in land utilization inquiries, in a way that is seldom possible in other countries. A comparatively small Institute grant thus goes a long way especially when it is reinforced by the voluntary services of many graduate research assistants.

¹ Published in 1929 by the Japanese Council of the Institute as a data paper for the Kyoto Conference. Subsequently, a more specialized report on "Mulberry Farming" has been published in Japanese. A final English report of the project is now in preparation.

On the other hand in China, where the practice of collecting agricultural statistics by official agencies has just begun and was hardly contemplated before 1930, the I.P.R. research work has been more difficult and costly. Farms must often be literally measured, differing units of length, area, capacity or value must be equated, heads must be counted and uncommunicative peasants must be tactfully interviewed. Only so was it possible in 1930 to secure the original data embodied in Dr. J. L. Buck's first report *Chinese Farm Economy*. In the forthcoming three-volume report *Land Utilization in China*² which will bring the project to a close the results will be based on materials obtained from some 60,000 farm families from localities all over China. It is virtually a sample agricultural census, for the information gathered deals not only with crops and farm practice, but with population trends, standards of living, climatic factors, prices and currency. Besides a 500 page volume of text there will be a volume of statistics and a large atlas illustrating the basic conditions of Chinese agriculture.

The Nanking project of making a representative picture of the main facts of Chinese agriculture and population movements has gained greatly from its director's successful attempts to enlist the cooperation of experts from other countries and the financial assistance of other interested organizations in China such as the Geological Survey and the International Famine Relief Commission. There has been a close relationship with the Agricultural Economics Faculty of Cornell University, which furnished statistical assistants, and has in turn given graduate training to some of the Nanking investigators in rural cooperation. Funds provided by the Scripps Foundation for Population Research, and the Millbank Foundation have enabled special studies on Chinese population to be carried on simultaneously with the land utilization survey. In the same way a detailed investigation of food consumption in China was carried on concurrently with the rest of the project, as part of a scheme of collaboration between the Nanking institution and the Food Research Institute, which appointed one of the Nanking assistants for its investigation of "Trends in the Consumption of Agricultural Products in

² Now being published in Shanghai under the joint auspices of the University of Nanking and the China Institute of Pacific Relations.

Eastern Asia". A scheme has also been devised for securing the technical services of foreign visiting experts, and the result of one such visit from Professor Shaw of the University of California, Department of Agriculture, was the initiation of a project for a preliminary soil survey in China financed by the Geological Survey. This was further extended by securing the services of Dr. Pendleton of the Philippine Bureau of Science.

In the United States and Canada there has been less need for the Institute to make special grants for similar studies. In these countries the cooperation of individual members of the local research committees such as Dr. O. E. Baker of the United States Department of Agriculture and Dr. Isaiah Bowman of the American Geographical Society enabled the Institute to utilize the results of research carried out under the other auspices. Of particular value in this respect have been the Geographical Society's studies on areas of pioneer settlement, especially those relating to Australia, Manchuria, Mongolia, Canada and Siberia. This Society also assumed supervision of the Institute's study of "Korean Land Utilization". This project, involving a good deal of field investigation of the same general type as that adapted in the Chinese study, was carried out under the direction of Professor Hoon K. Lee, Professor of Agricultural Economies at Union Christian College of Korea. The report is now being published as a book of some 350 pages entitled *Land Utilization and Rural Economy in Korea* (Kelly & Walsh, Shanghai). A shorter report in Korean was issued in 1934.

As might be expected, the approach to the problem of land utilization in New Zealand and Australia has assumed a very different form. They are relatively empty countries where farming, both arable and pastoral, is less a traditional way of life than an intricate highly commercialized and speculative business, conducted generally on large scale and closely bound up with world economic conditions. The New Zealand study is a most detailed survey, the first of its kind in the country, carried out by some thirty specialists under the direction of Dr. H. Belshaw, Professor of Economies at Auckland University College. Their reports are embodied in an 800 page volume entitled *Agricultural Organization in New Zealand* (Melbourne University Press, Australia). The Australian project, as yet uncompleted, will probably be along somewhat similar lines with special attention

devoted to questions of closer settlement, wheat farming and the development of semi-arid and tropical regions. It is under the direction of Professor G. L. Wood and Professor H. S. Wadham of the University of Melbourne. Parallel to this project the Queensland branch of the Australian Institute of International Affairs has since 1934 undertaken for the I.P.R. a study of "White Settlement in Tropical Australia", a matter of considerable concern in Australian politics and in Australia's possible relations with more crowded Pacific countries. Included in the study will be an examination of "National Planning in the Queensland Sugar Industry".

It may be remarked that the Victoria and New South Wales branches of the Australian Institute as early as 1928 had begun on their own initiative a series of valuable papers on population, immigration, settlement problems and general questions of economic development. Two of these volumes appeared under the title *The Peopling of Australia* (First Series and Second Series, Melbourne University Press). The other issued by the New South Wales branch was entitled *Studies in Australian Affairs*. All three were collections of monographs by competent authorities.

In the Philippines the I.P.R. has approached the problem from the angle of re-settlement and internal colonization—a matter of pressing public interest in a country where empty undeveloped lands of great extent exist only a few hours' sail from the overcrowded rice lands in Luzon. A study of "Population Redistribution in the Philippines" has been in progress since 1932 under the direction of Professor S. Macaraig of the Department of Sociology in the University of the Philippines, and is now nearing completion. Besides dealing with the actual problems of resettlement, it will include new surveys of economic conditions and resources of all the major regions of the Islands.

Mention has already been made of the studies in this general field made by the Food Research Institute in connection with two projects assigned to it by the Social Science Research Council. Two reports, *Japan as a Producer and Consumer of Wheat* and *Japanese Self Sufficiency in Wheat* have appeared in the Institute's *Wheat Studies*. A third report of much wider scope by Mr. E. F. Penrose has appeared as a book, *Population Theories With Special Reference to Japan*. Finally it may be noted that a

Director of the Institute, Dr. C. L. Alsberg, has been entrusted with the work of writing a general report summarizing and stating the larger international implications of the series of regional reports. A preliminary essay along these lines from his plan was submitted as a paper for the 1933 Conference.

There still remain a few important gaps in the chain of studies, notably in Netherlands India, Indo-China, Siam, British Malaya, and the Soviet Far Eastern territories. For many of these areas, however, the problem is fortunately one of making available information already collected for other bodies rather than making large field surveys.

2. STUDIES OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE FAR EAST.

An adequate understanding of problems of population increase, no less than the more obvious problems of tariff and trade policies, demands a knowledge of the different stages of development of industry in the Pacific countries, and in particular a knowledge of the progress of modern industry in China and Japan. For the advent of factory production in land like China is of more than ordinary significance. It is fatally easy to draw superficial parallels between it and the rise of modern industry in Western Europe and North America, and in doing so to ignore the fact that in all other countries of the world that are now industrialized, the process began at a time when the populations of those nations were still quite small and when the vast reservoirs of food-stuffs and raw materials in Africa, South America and the tropical colonial areas were still hardly tapped. Even in India where conditions are nearer those of China, the most striking phase of the population increase came after the process of western economic penetration had begun. But in China there was already a population approximately that of all western Europe, and one that as far as can be judged has few reserves either of income from abroad or of food supply at home, to allow for that sudden initial spurt of growth, which has taken place in all other areas of industrialization. Admittedly it is only by industrialization of some kind that the standard of living can be raised enough to encourage the hope that voluntary restriction of births will begin to reduce the rate of population growth as it has in Europe and America, but the evidence of such countries as Java and India might well give pause to those who

advocate a program of large-scale industrial expansion in China where the real pressure of people on the land is already probably greater than in any other part of the world. At least a generation must elapse before those habits of enlightened selfishness can be expected to operate, and there is room for serious doubt as to whether China has sufficient reserves to tide over those twenty-five years or so. Western economic history at any rate cannot be called reassuring on this point.

But there are no universal laws of industrialization, and it may be that the modernizing of China's economic life will not follow the course of England or Japan. For that reason the Institute has not limited its researches to modern factory industries in China, but has turned to examine the possibilities of traditional village industries in China and of other handicraft industries in a half-way stage between domestic and capitalistic forms of production.

It was with these transitional industries that research was begun by a grant for the study of "Industrialization in Tientsin", under the direction of Professor H. D. Fong of Nankai University. The first three reports (published by the Nankai Institute of Economics) dealt with the carpet-weaving, hosiery-knitting and rayon and cotton-weaving industries in that city. After these came an exhaustive survey of all phases of China's cotton industry which was the chief form of modern factory industry to be copied from the West. This report was published in 1932 as "Cotton Industry and Trade in China". (2 vols. Nankai University). It had been preceded in 1929 by a smaller report on "Cotton Spinning and Weaving in China",³ prepared for the China I.P.R. partly at the request of members of the League of Nations Secretariat by Mr. D. K. Lieu then a director of the Bureau of Statistics, Nanking. In 1931 Mr. Lieu was invited by the I.P.R. to undertake a much larger survey of the extent and effects of "Industrialization in Shanghai", including an account of factory industries in the neighboring Chinese cities of Nantung and Wusih. The study covers not only a careful statistical survey of factories, capitalization, labor, motive power, etc. but provides also special monographs on important industries, one of these having been published in 1933 as *The Silk Reeling Industry in*

³ Published in *Problems of the Pacific* 1929.

Shanghai together with a general survey entitled *A Preliminary Report on Shanghai Industrialization*. These are to be followed shortly by monographs on the silk-weaving, cotton-spinning and iron-manufacturing industries. The whole study, which is being carried out by Mr. Lieu under the auspices of the China I.P.R. and the China Institute of Economic and Statistical Research will be brought to a close early in 1927 in a general report on "Shanghai—Industrial Centre of China".

The problems of industrialization in Japan, though perhaps more important for the study of international affairs, stand less in need of field research than in the case in China. In Japan the process is older and there are relatively abundant statistics compiled by governmental bodies and trade associations. Prior to 1933 the Institute had initiated only one large study in this field, "Japanese Industrial Development", dealing particularly with industrial efficiency, competitive power and the prospects of further progress. It arose partly out of the discussion on this subject at the 1929 Conference and partly out of doubts expressed by Japanese students as to the permanent validity of arguments advanced by certain western writers on Japan's weak position as an industrial power. Since 1933 when the alleged menace of Japanese industrial competition in foreign markets has become a matter for intense public interest and agitation, the Japanese Council has extended and somewhat modified the study to cover the medium and small export industries, (many of them village enterprises) whose products have done much to aggravate recent disputes over "unfair" international trade competition. The early part of the study was directed by the late Mr. J. Asari of the Tokyo branch of the International Labour Office, and since his death in 1935 by Professor T. Uyeda of the Tokyo Commercial University. Preliminary reports on the small export industries will be published as papers for the Yosemite Conference.

More recently, under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, a valuable coordinating report on the separate studies has been issued. Prepared by Mr. G. E. Hubbard under the title *Eastern Industrialization and Its Effect on the West* it brings together a great deal of material gathered in earlier I.P.R. studies together with up-to-date information on recent international developments in the industrialization of China, Japan and India.

To complete this section reference should be made to a study on the effects of industrialization in China on labor and labor legislation. This was carried out by Mr. C. H. Lowe, now of the China Famine Relief Commission, and published by the China I.P.R. as a document for the 1933 conference under the title *Facing Labour Issues in China*.

3. RURAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHANGES IN THE FAR EAST.

The processes of machine production, though profound and far-reaching in their effects, take some time to make their impact felt on all parts of a community. Even in a country so well advanced on the road of factory production as Japan, there are many departments of national economic life that have more to do with the problems of peasant farmers than the problems of factory employees, and more to do with village industries than with mass production. The same thing is of course much more true in China where most of the inland towns, even though large in population, have more the characteristics of enormous villages than the intricate structure of modern municipalities. To understand the ways in which deep-rooted social institutions have reacted to the coming of industrialization, or how they can be better adapted to the national needs in modern times, is to go far in an understanding of the whole social framework of China and Japan. Studies of rural life are an essential link between the basic problems of agriculture on the one hand, and the newer problems of industrialization on the other. In this field, the Institute has made a promising beginning with a study of "Rural Industries in North China" carried out by Dr. H. D. Fong of Nankai University. This inquiry, which has a special importance because of the Chinese Government's efforts to encourage village industries in order to supplement farm incomes during the winter months when agriculture is seldom possible, has been made chiefly in districts of Hopei Province. A first report was published as *Rural Weaving and the Merchant Employers in a North China District*. It has been followed recently by a lengthy monograph *Rural Industrial Enterprise in North China*. A more general survey was issued in 1933 as *Rural Industries in China*. All these reports have been published by the Nankai Institute of Economics, Tientsin.

The I.P.R. studies in this field are thus complementary to

both the land studies and the industrialization, and in fact the above-mentioned inquiry into village industries is precisely on the border between the two fields. It has been supported, however, by another project more concerned with the special problems of village and country government in China, calculated to appraise the various informal types of administration and social control that play so large a part in all Chinese society. The direction of the work is in the hands of Professor C. M. Chang of Nankai University. This study assumes a special importance at the present time when the National Government is endeavoring to build up an efficient corps of country magistrates and officials. The project has involved exhaustive analysis of records of district officials in local county centres, often extending over a century or more and yielding invaluable information on methods of taxation, police administration, etc. Based in part on these records Professor Chang has published an article on "Chinese Standards of Good Government" and a more recent one on "Tax Farming in North China", both of these being printed in the *Nankai Social and Economic Quarterly*.

Even more important is the effort made by the I.P.R. to set the rural problems of China into a proper historical setting and into relation with the comparable problems that confronted Western Europe in its nineteenth century transition to modern industrialism. To this end it invited the English economic historian Professor R. H. Tawney to spend some time in China in consultation with I.P.R. research workers. On the basis of such conversations and using materials already collected Professor Tawney was enabled to produce one of the most stimulating essays on the fundamental economic problems of modern China yet written. It was issued first in 1931 as a report for the Shanghai Conference in 1931 and later published in England as *Land and Labour in China*. The Institute has adopted a similar procedure in arranging for the well-known German scholar Dr. Karl A. Wittfogel to visit China in order to complete an elaborate study of Chinese economic organization, part of which has already been published in his *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Chinas*.

The remaining project in this field relates to Japan where the problem, though no less important, is more amenable to investigation than in China. The study on "Changing Rural

Social Life in Japan" is directed by Dr. Shiroshi Nasu in conjunction with his study of land utilization. It is also closely related to the Japanese Council studies of living standards in agricultural and sericultural districts of Japan.

4. STUDIES OF TARIFFS, RAW MATERIALS, FOREIGN TRADE AND INVESTMENTS.

Changes in industry and agriculture or social structure are interesting in themselves to the student, but for those members of the Institute conferences whose main concern is with the immediate sources of international controversy, they are apt to be chiefly interesting in so far as they reveal themselves in official governmental policy affecting the relations of other States. One way in which they are so revealed, is in changes of tariff or investment policies and the associated movements of foreign trade and shipping. At several Institute conferences problems of this sort have been dealt with, and perhaps with most success in the 1931 Conference round-tables on trade relations in the Pacific and on the silver problem in China. Research on one or more of these problems has found a place in all the programs since 1928.

It began with what is perhaps the Institute's most ambitious cooperative project—the study of "The International Economic and Financial Relations of China", by Professor C. F. Remer. The funds for this came from the Social Science Research Council, and the director worked under the nominal supervision of the Brookings Institution, but the allotment of work to the different researchers in China, Japan and England was carried out through the local Institute groups. Progress reports on the following separate studies were presented to the 1929 Conference: "Foreign Investments in China", by D. K. Lieu; "Japanese Investments in China", by Masnoske Odagiri; "American Investments in China", by C. F. Remer; "French and German Investments in China", by Howard S. Ellis. In addition, a private report on British investments was prepared by a special committee of experts in the Royal Institute. All of these were later used by Professor Remer in the production of his book, *Foreign Investments in China*. For the 1931 Conference the American Council undertook a supplementary study on the Chinese Banking Consortium. Mr. F. V. Field's *American Participation in the China Consortiums* was published in 1932. A study of Japan's inter-

national relations by Dr. H. G. Moulton of the Brookings Institution, parallel to these investigations of the international economic position of China though not under the purview of the Institute, had the benefit of cooperation from Institute members in Japan. It appeared in 1931 as *Japan; An Economic and Financial Appraisal*, and has been accepted as a standard work in its field.

There are two studies on specific problems of foreign trade. One is an analysis of the trade of Canada, Australia and New Zealand, with special reference to their developing trade with other Pacific countries, and the effects of this on their commercial relations with Great Britain. Professor J. Coatman of the London School of Economics has been in charge of the work. A first report entitled *Australia as Producer and Trader* by his assistant, Mrs. N. Windett, has already been published, and is to be followed shortly by a similar volume on Canada. The other project is Professor Araki's historical study of "Silver as a Factor in Pacific Trade", with particular reference to Sino-Japanese trade.

Tariffs and tariff policies in Pacific countries have been the subject of a series of shorter studies presented to the 1931 Conference and later referred for coordination to Mr. Philip G. Wright, author of the American Council's recent book *American Tariff and Oriental Trade*. The work of coordination has recently been completed, resulting in an exhaustive and systematic analysis of post-war trade and tariffs, under the title *Trade and Trade Barriers in the Pacific*. Finally, the subject of shipping in the Pacific has been considered in several national studies prepared for the Banff Conference where this and allied problems were on the discussion agenda. One result of this has been the recent publication of *Maritime Trade of Western United States* by Professor E. G. Mears of Stanford University who prepared earlier reports on trade and shipping for the American Council.

Since the 1933 Conference at Banff the broad problem of regulating international trade competition and of controlling supplies of raw materials or staple commodities have come increasingly to the forefront of public attention. A good deal of the National Councils' research work in recent years has accordingly been directed to these questions. The Royal Institute study of "Eastern Industrialization" naturally deals quite

extensively with the question of trade competition from Japan. The American Council has similarly embarked on a study of "American—Japanese Competition in Textiles", carried on by Mr. W. W. Lockwood. Related to this is a parallel study of "The Far East in the World Depression" a comparative study of the course and effects of the world economic crisis in China, Japan and Java by Mr. W. L. Holland of the I.P.R. Secretariat. A series of reports dealing more generally with the question of Australia's economic relations with China, Japan and Java has recently been published by the New South Wales branch of the Australian Institute as *Australia and the Far East*. Finally, the Institute has made a recent useful contribution to the study of raw materials and schemes for their control by publishing a collected volume of fourteen studies by competent students of the working of commodity control schemes in Pacific countries, including two reports on Japanese silk and rice control giving material not hitherto available in English. The book was published in 1935 as *Commodity Control in the Pacific Area*.

5. ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN MANCHURIA.

It should be clear from what has been written above, that the researches on land and population overlap into several adjoining fields of research. Several of the studies listed here under the heading of Manchuria might well have been included in the previous section, but by keeping all the projects on Manchuria together it is possible to show another significant part of the Institute technique in dealing with difficult international problems. It is the technique of breaking up a complicated question as far as possible into its constituent parts and then endeavouring to deal with each of these separately before attempting to find a general remedy. If this is not done and a conference is not content with the generalities and special pleading of much official international discussion, a question like the Manchurian problem quickly develops into a deadlock with Japan's sacred "special interests" inexorably opposed to China's equally sacred "sovereign rights". Progress is only possible when it is seen that there is no one "Manchurian problem", but a dozen or more different problems, relating to railway traffic, land-holding, movement of troops, migration regulations, investments and the like, each of which demands a different solution

and a different method of handling. There is no conceivable single formula which will satisfy such incommensurables.

It is to the elucidation of these component problems that the Institute has devoted the second largest share of its research funds. Four international projects and two undertaken by the American Council, have been made since 1928, and the Yosemite Conference may possibly see the initiation of other studies in the same field. The research began with three projects intended to document the discussions of the 1929 Conference. One was a statistical examination of the known facts of the economic life of Manchuria, carried out by Professor Chu Hsiao then of Nankai University, Tientsin, published under the title *Manchuria, a Statistical Survey*. A second was an analysis by Professor M. Royama of Tokyo Imperial University of Japanese political, economic and cultural interests in Manchuria. The third was a statement from the Chinese point of view of the diplomatic history of Manchuria. Supplementing these⁴ was a study of Chinese colonization in Manchuria carried out under American Council auspices by Professor C. Walter Young, who had also prepared for them the intensive analysis of diplomatic and other official international agreements concerning Manchuria published as *The International Relations of Manchuria*.

The tremendous mass migration of Chinese farmers from the provinces of North China into the three north-eastern provinces was a phenomenon so interesting in itself and so pregnant with the possibilities of international political repercussions, that the research committee in 1929 made plans for a thorough inquiry into the causes and effects of the movement. It entrusted to Dr. Franklin L. Ho, of Nankai University, Tientsin, a large investigation of "Population Movements from Shantung and Hopei Provinces to the Three Eastern Provinces of China". A notable characteristic of the study was that it involved field study not only of the new areas of settlement in Manchuria, but also of the districts in Shantung and Hopei from which the immigrants had come. A preliminary report was presented to the next conference in 1931 and the research committee provided funds for continuing the work on an enlarged scale. In this stage of the project it was planned to undertake more detailed inquiries into

⁴ All four of these reports are published in *Problems of the Pacific*, 1929.

types of agricultural economy developing in certain typical areas of northern and eastern Manchuria. Unfortunately the hostilities in Manchuria since 1931 made it impossible to carry out all the necessary field work and part of the project had to be suspended. But whether in this or in a new project the Institute is likely to continue its studies of Manchuria for some years to come. In fact the American Council is now making plans for a study of "Recent Economic and Political Developments in Manchuria and North China" to be carried out in 1936 and 1937 by Mr. Nathaniel Peffer. Earlier in 1934 the Secretariat made possible the publication of Mr. Owen Lattimore's study, *The Mongols of Manchuria*.

6. STUDIES OF DEPENDENCIES, NATIVE PEOPLES AND COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT.

The projects given under this heading like those on the Manchurian problem overlap into several academic subjects. On the political side there are the problems of types of colonial administration, of which the Pacific area provides a rich variety, ranging from large colonial empires like those of the Netherlands, France and Great Britain to the various islands under League of Nations mandate. Quite aside from such matters as forms of self-government and the relations of colonies to the mother country, there are important questions of strategy and of international law involved, as has recently been shown by the discussions on the status of the Japanese mandated territory in the North Pacific since Japan's withdrawal from the League, and since the collapse of the Washington Naval Treaty. On the economic side there is the problem of determining the best methods of economic development in these mainly tropical areas, and for the present at any rate, the acute problem of economic depression which has fallen with special severity on these areas of food and raw material production. For the sociologist and anthropologist there is another group of problems relating to the cultural revolution of native life brought about by the penetration of modern economic organization, and the consequent necessity of working out suitable methods of educational training for the native peoples. And in yet another field, it so happens that many of the great colonial areas in the Pacific provide a valuable ground for the examination of population

questions under more controlled and observable conditions than in countries like Japan or China.

The Institute began its researches on dependencies with a study of British Malaya where in addition to the problems outlined above there is a further problem of studying the great migration of southern Chinese who have helped to build up the economic structure of British Malaya and at the same time to effect appreciable changes in the economic life of their own home districts round such cities as Canton, Amoy and Swatow. A report of Mr. W. J. Hinton's work was made available to the 1929 Conference as a paper entitled *Government of Pacific Dependencies—British Malaya*. It is not unlikely that an elaboration of this study will be arranged in the near future, because of the important economic and political effects of the economic crisis on Malaya.

At the same time work has been initiated by the Australian Council in conjunction with the Victoria Branch of the League of Nations Union, on the study of *Australia's Mandate in New Guinea*. A book embodying the reports of the various experts and committees who participated was published in 1929. The Sydney group of the Australian Institute has continued the work during the past two years in a round-table group on Australian dependencies, notably Papua and New Britain.

The Institute's largest interest, however, is represented by its three-year international research project on the "Government of Pacific Dependencies" under the direction of Dr. F. M. Keesing. Originally intended primarily as a study of types of administration and educational methods in the Pacific Islands, it has developed into a much larger survey dealing with economic and cultural changes as well. The principal field studies have been made in Fiji, Samoa (both American and Mandated), and among some of the non-Christian peoples of the Philippines. The reports completed are *Modern Samoa* and *Taming Philippine Headhunters*, published in 1933 and 1934.

The round-table discussion on dependencies at the 1931 Conference gained greatly by the presence of Dr. de Kat Angelino, the Netherlands India observer at the 1931 conference, whose book *Colonial Policy* has been made available in English to conference members under the auspices of the American Council. In the same way the conference served to awaken the

interest of members of the Japanese Council in the problems of dependencies. The 1931 research committee therefore complied with the Japanese request for a project on "Japanese Dependencies and Colonial Policy", involving some new research on Formosa and the mandated islands as well as translation of existing Japanese studies. This study by a well-known Japanese authority, Professor Tadao Yanaihara of Tokyo Imperial University is now complete⁵ and is being translated for publication in English.

The American Council's study of Filipino immigration to the United States and Hawaii bears a close relation to the dependencies project, since it deals at some length with social and economic conditions in the Philippine districts of emigration. In the same way, the series of studies on comparative colonial administration, and the book *Native Education* brought out by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, have served to enlarge and enrich the whole international project. Although the I.P.R. has thus made a useful beginning in studying this field, it is probable that a number of highly significant inquiries into the larger aspects of colonial administration and economic development will still have to be undertaken. The importance of such larger studies has been brought increasingly into public attention by the German claims for former colonial territories and by the establishment of an independent Philippines.

7. SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS.

This division of Institute research is one into which it would be possible to fit many of the projects mentioned here under other headings. Obviously social changes and the contact or intermingling of cultures are inevitable parts of such things as trade, migration, and colonial government. To consider them as something apart from other political or economic phenomena is quite impossible, and in the I.P.R. program they have not been separated off from other branches of research.

In the study of culture contacts, it was most fitting that the first large Institute study should have been carried out by members of the Japanese Council, for Japan is the Pacific country

⁵ The report (in Japanese) is entitled *A Study of the South Sea Islands under Japanese Mandate*.

which has experimented more systematically than any other part of the world in the conscious blending of the Eastern and Western ways of life. For the 1929 Conference the Japanese Council secured the services of eminent students of many phases of modern Japanese life and produced the series of essays which has now been published in the United States as *Western Influences in Modern Japan*. It was edited by the late Dr. Inazo Nitobe, whose own writings on the subject of foreign influences in Japan have become well-known in the West.

This was followed by the Chinese Council's contribution to the Shanghai Conference. Nearly a score of China's academic leaders in the fields of the arts, natural sciences and social sciences collaborated to write the *Symposium on Chinese Culture* edited by Mrs. Sophia Chen Zen and published by the China Council.

In the American Council there has been sustained interest in the problem and through the systematic work of its Education Committee there has perhaps been a more thorough study of the question than in any other group. Its first survey on *China and Japan in our University Curricula* has done much to awaken the interest of educators and public men. It has been followed by a similar book on China and Japan in American museums, and a series of similar studies for libraries, schools, moving pictures and press is being carried out. Its other studies in related education questions have dealt with facilities for the study of Oriental civilizations in America, with the provision of Fellowships for American students in the Far East. For the 1929 and 1931 Conferences it submitted papers on various aspects of the influence, past and present, of Oriental cultures, especially Chinese culture, on American life, and an interesting historical examination of the effects of the old New England trade with Canton on American manners and society.

The research program of the Institute has also had two projects on a somewhat different aspect of cultural relations. First there is an inquiry carried out by Mr. K. Matsumiya on "The Japanese Family System" as a factor in the economic and political aspects of Japanese society. The second is a study by Mr. Quentin Pan on "The Humanist Philosophy in Chinese Life" and its influence in modern Chinese social organization. As a further contribution to the study of the development of Chinese social organization, the American Council in 1936

arranged for the publication of Mr. Chao-ting Chi's recent book, *Key Economic Areas in Chinese History*.

In the current research program there are also two studies, as yet uncompleted, which deal with the problem of culture contact and conflict. One is an historical inquiry by Mr. Owen Lattimore entitled *Frontiers of Inner Asia*, dealing with racial and cultural contacts in the northern and western frontier regions of China. The other, coming perhaps more logically under the heading of "government of dependent peoples" is a study by Miss Harriet Moore with the cooperation of the Soviet Union Council of the I.P.R. on "Administration, Economic and Social Development in Buriat Mongolia".

Finally, under this heading, one must include an important field of study which has long interested the Institute, namely the Press as an influence in the shaping of international relations. Apart from occasional short papers, it was not till 1931 that a beginning was made in these studies by the China Council which published Mr. T. Chao's monograph on *The Foreign Press in China*. More recently as a result of recommendations made at the Tokyo Research Conference it has been decided to initiate a number of more intensive studies on "Press and Public Opinion" in international affairs. Small projects have already been started in the Philippine and Chinese Councils, the latter being conducted by Mr. Lin Yu-tang.⁶ Similar studies by other national councils, dealing also with the question of radio broadcasting, are necessary, and are being initiated in Canada, United States, and Australia.

8. STUDIES OF MIGRATION AND IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION.

Research in the problems of migration must logically be considered as part of the Institute's population studies and as directly related to questions of standards of living. But in fact it has a special significance of its own in the Institute's work, in that many of the other more fundamental researches had their origin in discussions of migration in the first two Institute conferences. Almost the first question that confronted the conference members after they had acquainted themselves with the facts of Oriental

⁶ An article based largely on this study and giving a good idea of the project has been published in the magazine *T'ien Hsia* (Shanghai) under the title "Contemporary Chinese Periodical Literature."

immigration restrictions in the English-speaking countries of the Pacific, was that the motives for such restrictions were based on ideas of protecting standards of living, but that the existing body of scientific knowledge on the measurement and comparison of such standards was lamentably small. It was partly in the attempt to supply some of the necessary knowledge that the first Institute researches were begun.

They were started by the American Council with its two books on Asiatic peoples in North America. One of these, *Resident Orientals on the American Pacific Coast* by Professor E. G. Mears, has already been mentioned elsewhere. Its companion study was Professor R. D. McKenzie's book *Oriental Immigration* first published by the American Council and later by the University of Chicago Press. These were followed in 1930 by a more intensive study, based on detailed field investigation in California, Hawaii, and the Philippines, of the migration of Filipino people to Hawaii and the continental United States. The work was carried out by Mr. Bruno Lasker with the assistance of members of the American Council staff, and took shape in the book *Filipino Immigration*. Apart from the projects on Chinese migration to Manchuria, on British Malaya, and on population re-distribution in the Philippines, all of which deal in some measure with migration questions, the only other Institute studies in the field have been done by the New Zealand and Australian Councils in connection with their preparation for the Institute conferences and in the chapters on migration in the three symposia published by them. The Institute has, however, been fortunate in securing the cooperation of the International Labour Office at Geneva in these studies, for at both the 1927 and 1931 conferences it supplied papers on migration laws and migration movements in the Pacific.

More recently the Institute has initiated a project suggested by the China Council for a study of Chinese communities living abroad in the countries of South East Asia, and an initial study is shortly to be started under the direction of Professor S. C. Chen of Nankai University. It will deal first with the problem of "Chinese in Siam"—a matter which has recently given rise to much dispute between the Chinese and Siamese governments—and may extend later to a consideration of Chinese communities in Malaya and Netherlands India.

Moreover the 1934-35 program of the Institute included several projects which have to do with the double problem of migration and standards of living, *e.g.* the extent to which differences in standards of living are a cause of migration and a valid reason for trade or immigration restrictions, and also the extent to which emigrants, either while abroad or after returning home, exert an appreciable influence in changing ideas of taste and standards of living in their home districts. The largest project in this field is a study of "Migration and Changing Standards of Living in Selected Districts of South China" (Canton, Swatow, and Amoy) conducted by Professor Ta Chen of the National Tsing Hua University, Peiping, with the collaboration of Mr. Bruno Lasker of the American Council and of Dr. L. K. Tao of the Institute of Social Sciences in the Academica Sinica. It is now in process of completion, and will include not only detailed reports on living standards and culture changes in emigration areas of Amoy and Swatow, but an account of the social changes exerted on Chinese overseas in the Philippines, Java, Malaya and Siam. Parallel to it, but on a somewhat smaller scale, are studies of Filipino immigrants' standards of living on Hawaiian plantations, and of living standards of groups of Filipino workers in the districts of Ilocos Provinces whence many immigrants come. Similarly in British Columbia, under the auspices of the local branch of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs there is in progress a study of standards of living of Japanese and Chinese immigrants. Finally it will be recalled that under the heading of "Manchuria" above there is mention of the large project on the migration of Chinese from North China to Manchuria—an important study now being prepared for publication in English by Dr. Franklin L. Ho of Nankai University.

9. STUDIES OF STANDARDS OF LIVING.

It needs no lengthy argument to show the importance of understanding changes in and differences between national and regional standards of living in the Pacific area. There has not been an Institute Conference in which arguments based on beliefs about national standards of living did not appear. Whether in discussing population pressure, industrialization, immigration restrictions, trade barriers or the status of aliens, the Institute conferences have had to deal with this ill-defined notion of

standards of living as a determining factor in international affairs. In spite of the obvious importance of the subject, it was very difficult for several years to include the topic in the research program as a major field of work. The technical problem of making international comparisons in living standards or even costs of living is difficult enough even in countries of western Europe where customs and types of consumption are fairly similar. The problem is vastly greater in the Pacific regions where there are great cultural contrasts among the different nations. Consequently, although the Institute up to 1933 benefited by a number of short monographs on standards of living prepared by various National Councils and by members of the International Labour Office, it was not till the Banff Conference that the Research Committee found it practicable to adopt the subject as a major field of inquiry. Even now, it should be pointed out that the Institute has refrained from limiting these projects to the narrow field of costs of living and family budgets, though it has made provision for modest studies of this sort as part of larger investigations. On the contrary, after experimenting with preliminary studies, and especially after hearing the tentative results discussed at its interim research conference held in Tokyo (April, 1935), the Committee has placed most emphasis on problems related to, or deriving from, differences or changes in levels of living, *e.g.* "unfair" international trade competitions, distribution of national income, migration movements and restrictions, etc., and also on factors which tend to change or upset traditional living standards, *e.g.* industrialization of rural areas and commercialization of subsistence agriculture.

In pursuance of this program some twenty separate but related local inquiries have been set on foot in nine countries. Some of these, *e.g.* on immigrant and emigrant communities have already been noted. In China there are related studies of living standards in regions of specialized agricultural production such as the tobacco-producing areas (mainly in North China), the tea-growing districts around Hankow, and the silk-producing regions of Chekiang Province. Similarly in Canada there are four regional studies of characteristic sections of Canada, namely the Maritime Provinces, the manufacturing area of central Canada, the wheat country of the West and the Pacific Coast. Studies of urban occupational groups are under way in Shanghai, Tokyo,

Manila and San Francisco. In the Soviet Union there are to be studies of living standards in cotton-producing areas and of cotton textile workers to parallel similar material being collected by the American and Japanese Councils. Other projects have been started in Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines and Netherlands India. On the theoretical side the Institute has had the benefit of technical reports supplied by the International Labour Office on the problem of making international comparisons, while under the auspices of the Royal Institute a report is to be produced by Professor T. E. Gregory on "The Concept of the Standard of Living in Economic Theory". Bibliographical studies on existing studies have been made in China, Japan and the United States.

Most of the studies are not yet completed, and it is therefore too early to appraise the results. It should be noted, however, that plans are being made for an international coordinating report on the whole series of national and regional inquiries to be written when these are completed. The studies will thus supplement and run parallel with the other large Institute studies on population and land utilization, and on foreign trade and investments. The first published reports to appear will probably be as follows: (1) "Canadian Standards of Living"—with an interpretative report by Professor H. Innis of the University of Toronto, based on four regional inquiries; (2) "Living Standards of Filipino Plantation Workers in Hawaii", by Mrs. Edna C. Wentworth; (3) "Standards of Living in Tobacco Producing Regions in China", by Mr. Chen Han-seng; (4) "The Concept of the Standard of Living in Economic Theory", by Professor T. E. Gregory. The Institute also cooperated with the Social Science Research Council and the U. S. Bureau of Home Economics in arranging for the recently published world bibliography of standards of living inquiries entitled *Family Living Studies in the United States and Other Countries* compiled by Dr. Faith Williams and Dr. Carle Zimmerman.

IO. INTERNATIONAL LAW, DIPLOMATIC MACHINERY AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS.

Research in problems of current political controversy has not been a major part of the Institute program. One reason is that such questions are often found to be composed, like the Man-

churian situation, of several underlying problems in different fields of study. If a problem is thus broken up into sections for research, it is more likely that the residue of purely political issues can be best handled by the ordinary procedure of round table discussion. At any rate the research committee has so far allocated a relatively small part of its funds for such projects, with the exception, of course, of the Manchurian studies already mentioned. A fair amount of work, however, has been carried on under the auspices of the national councils without grants from the international fund. The studies of the British and Chinese groups on Problems of the Shanghai International Settlement are cases in point.

The largest single project is a "Comparative Study of Boycotts", directed by Professor Kenzo Takayanagi of Tokyo Imperial University. This is not only a history of the use of boycott in various countries, but an examination of its legal status in the light of modern treaties concerning the use of war as an instrument of national policy, and an appraisal of its economic effects in certain historical examples. The question of boycott in China against first British and then Japanese trade has been of great significance in the last ten years, and a large part of the project is therefore naturally concerned with China. Three preliminary reports on this study were printed as papers for the Banff Conference in 1933, and the whole study is now being completed under the auspices of the Japanese Council.

Next is the international survey of the "Legal Status of Aliens in Pacific Countries". The nine national reports on this, after being considered at the 1931 Conference, have been edited by Professor Norman Mackenzie of the University of Toronto, and are now being submitted for publication. Other aspects of the same question as it relates to specific countries have been treated in a number of shorter studies on extraterritoriality in China, and also in the American Council's project by Professor Mears on "Resident Orientals on the American Pacific Coast". It is not unlikely that in future research programs, the present series of legal surveys will be broadened out like Professor Mears' work, to include the social and economic status of resident aliens.

Verging more into the field of general diplomatic relations is Professor Joseph P. Chamberlain's study of the development of the doctrine of neutrality in international law in recent times,

which is financed by the Social Science Research Council from its appropriations made in 1928, at the instance of the I.P.R. This exhaustive survey is of course not primarily concerned with the Pacific area and is not formally a part of the I.P.R. program but is carried out by the School of Law at Columbia University. The first reports issued under the editorship of Professor Philip Jessup have recently been published.

Among the smaller I.P.R. projects in the legal field may be mentioned a recent proposal for study drawn up by Professor R. D. Kollewijn of the Faculty of Law, University of Batavia, as a result of recommendations made at the 1935 interim research conference in Tokyo. The plan, which will be reported on at the Yosemite Conference, calls for a comparative study in such places as Java, Philippines, Indo-China, British Malaya, and Siam, of the conflict between traditional Chinese law and modern western law—a matter of considerable importance in those countries where Chinese form a large and influential part of the population.

Although research in the problems of diplomatic relations, collective security and treaty machinery has not been undertaken on any large scale as yet by the I.P.R., it should be noted that a good deal of important material in the form of data-papers for the Conference has been published by the Chinese, Japanese, British, American and Australian groups. Moreover several of the Councils have conducted special study-groups on the problem and the Royal Institute, in its annual *Survey of International Affairs* and *Documents on International Affairs* as well as in such special reports as its book on *Treaty-Making Procedure* has made a number of important contributions. It is not unlikely that with the break-down of much of the post-war treaty machinery in the Far East, the I.P.R. may decide after the Yosemite Conference to undertake further work in this field.

IV. RESEARCH IN THE NATIONAL COUNCILS.

The chief aim of this review is to describe the working of the Institute's *international* research program. It does not pretend to give a full account of the researches carried out by individuals, committees or study-groups in the various national councils. But to say nothing of these would be to give a very distorted and incomplete picture of the part played by research throughout the Institute. In the first place the national research committee have

often been the agencies for carrying out projects (particularly co-operative projects) in the international program. In the second place, some of the local committees that are better endowed with funds or other facilities than others have undertaken major studies without having recourse to grants from the international fund. Such studies are an important part of the total research work, even though they do not appear in the ordinary reports of the International Research Committee. Accordingly a few comments, necessarily incomplete, are here given on the different national committees. There is no uniformity in the organization of these committees and their methods differ considerably, so that no one description will apply to all of them. Some, like the Canadian and Australian, work in *ad hoc* groups, often employing a kind of round-table conference procedure for the criticism and revision of research projects by various study groups. Others, like the British and American have well-organized permanent research or information departments of their own.

Australia. Research in Australia has been carried out by the three groups of the Australian Institute of International Affairs at Sydney, Queensland and Melbourne, but in close cooperation with members of the university faculties in those cities and with officials of certain government research bodies such as the Bureau of Census and Statistics, the Bureau of Meteorology and the Department of Health in the Commonwealth Government. The first program of research began with the Melbourne group which in 1928 set up a study group on problems of population, natural resources and immigration in Australia, the outcome of which was the published symposium *The Peopling of Australia*. The same method was later followed by the Sydney branch in the production of the companion volume *Studies in Australian Affairs* which provides a survey of the general economic organization of the country together with chapters on its foreign relations. Still later members of the Melbourne branch cooperated with the Victoria Branch of the League of Nations Union in issuing *The Australian Mandate for New Guinea*. These three projects each represent a kind of report of the proceedings of the study groups and are thus interesting extensions of the round-table method of the Institute conferences, into the field of local research. The Australian council has been deeply interested in the international research project on the dependencies and native peoples in the

Pacific, and in Sydney where the Mitchell library and the University department of anthropology provide good facilities for study, a study group on Australia's Pacific possessions has been working for some time. The same study group procedure was used for the recent book of the Sydney group *Australia and the Far East*.

At the 1931 conference Australia was included in the Institute's land utilization researches. A grant to the Council has since enabled the work to be started with the active collaboration of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, and the assistance of the various State departments of agriculture. Members of the Melbourne group drew up the plans for the study and have the task of coordinating the final report.

Canada. Up to the time of the 1931 conference the Canadian Institute of International Affairs had taken a relatively small part in the international research program, and its own local research activities had been confined mostly to cooperation in the Institute studies on dependencies and native peoples, on the status of aliens, and on tariffs and trade, on each of which topics it produced conference data-papers. But since 1931 it has occupied an important place in the current international program. The Canadian Institute has also undertaken a considerable amount of work on trade, investments and raw material resources as part of its preparation for the I.P.R. conferences. Since 1933 it has initiated under Dr. H. Innis of the University of Toronto a series of four regional standards of living inquiries, and has recently made plans to undertake a study of "The Press and Public Opinion in Canada". Apart from these international research projects the Canadian Institute has a considerable program of research in its own program. The most important published result of these studies is a volume entitled *The Canadian Economy and its Problems*. The Institute now has in preparation a report on "Canada's Foreign Policy".

China. Institute research in China has always held a central place in the total I.P.R. program. Not only has a large part of the total expenditure been made in that country but the most fundamental and difficult types of investigation have had to be employed and developed in order to secure satisfactory information. As will have been evident from earlier sections of this review, a good deal of research in the early years was delegated

by the China I.P.R. to local universities and research institutions as at Nanking and Tientsin. With the development of the national office of the I.P.R. into a growing centre of study it is probable that more research work in the future will be conducted directly under the Council's auspices. Among the other Chinese research centres which have assisted in I.P.R. studies and with which the Council maintains close relations are Yenching, Tsing-hua, Nankai, Wuhan, Amoy and Lingnan Universities, the University of Nanking, the University of Shanghai, the Institute of Social Sciences in the Academica Sinica, the Sun Yat-sen Institute, the China Institute of Economic and Statistical Research and the Research Department of the Bank of China.

The first publication of China I.P.R. was an English translation in 1927 of what has come to be regarded as the political and economic Bible of China—Dr. Sun Yat-sen's *Three Principles of the People* (*San Min Chu I*). In 1929 it issued for the Kyoto Conference an authoritative study of the diplomatic and legal problems of the International Settlement at Shanghai entitled *The Status of Shanghai*. Of more general interest is its excellent *Symposium on Chinese Culture* published in 1931, and its collected volume of political studies, *Essays on The Manchurian Problem*, by Dr. Shuhs Hsu. It brought out Mr. C. H. Lowe's book *Facing Labour Issues in China* in 1933 and is at the present time arranging for the publishing (jointly with Lingnan University) of Mr. Chen Han-seng's *Agrarian Problems of Southern-most China*, an important analysis of peasant exploitation in Kwangtung Province. In addition to these the China Institute has contributed some thirty papers embodying the results of research as documents for the I.P.R. Conferences.

Great Britain. In England the Institute is represented by a special committee of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, and research in Pacific problems is thus an integral part of the Royal Institute's own research program. Perhaps the largest single research contribution is made by the Pacific and Far Eastern sections of the well-known annual *Survey of International Affairs* by Professor A. J. Toynbee, who is research director of the Royal Institute and since 1930 the British member of the International Research Committee. But the Royal Institute has cooperated in many other ways as well. Through its Information Department it has taken part in the cooperative studies on

aliens, on communications and on diplomatic machinery. On its own initiative it has provided an important contribution to the Institute's research on Pacific dependencies, for a study group during the last few years has produced a number of reports on comparative colonial administration and native education in the Far East. The latest result of this work is a book by the Hon. Hugh Wyndham entitled *Problems of Imperial Trusteeship: Native Education*—an inquiry into problems of native education in Ceylon, Java, Philippine Islands, Formosa, French Indo-China, and British Malaya. Earlier studies prepared directly for the Institute conferences were Sir Frederick Whyte's *China and the Foreign Powers* submitted to the 1927 conference and Sir Harold Parlett's *Diplomatic Events in Manchuria* presented to the 1929 meeting. Both are published by the Oxford University Press.

The British group has also participated in some of the long-term projects of the International Research Program. In 1929 it organized a committee of economists and financial experts to undertake an estimate of British investments in China as part of Professor Remer's research on China's international economic relations. It also maintains a close connection with the project on Trade of the British Pacific Dominions, under the direction of Professor J. Coatman at the London School of Economics, the first report of which was published under its auspices as *Australia as Producer and Trader*. In the past three years the special contributions of the Royal Institute to the international research program have comprised Mr. Hubbard's study of "Eastern Industrialization" and an inquiry still in progress under the direction of Professor T. E. Gregory on "The Concept of the Standard of Living in Economic Theory". Another study organized independently of the I.P.R. under the Royal Institute's auspices is now in progress on "Effects of Western Influence upon the Social Life of China and Japan". It is under the direction of Mr. G. F. Hudson. Among the reports now being prepared as British papers for the Yosemite Conference is one on "British Policy in the Far East".

Japan. In the number of projects and the outlay of funds, Japan has ranked next in importance to China as a field for Institute research. Most of the projects have been assigned to organizations or individuals other than the Japanese Council, but

here even more than in China, the relation between the Council and the local Research Institutions is very close. On some studies special sub-committees set up by the National Council have acted as advisory bodies for projects, while in other cases something like the Study Group method, described for the Australian Group, has been employed, notably in the production of the symposium, *Western Influences in Modern Japan*, edited by the late Dr. Inazo Nitobe. As in China, the largest research grants have been made for studies of land utilization and population. Thanks to these, it has been possible to maintain for six or seven years, in the Department of Agriculture at the Imperial University of Tokyo, a centre of Institute research with a body of investigators trained during the past five years under Dr. Shiroshi Nasu. Similarly, a group of junior research workers has been employed under the direction of Professor T. Uyeda of the Tokyo Commercial University, on studies of Japanese export industries.

Other members of the Tokyo Imperial University who have participated in research for the I.P.R., are Professor K. Takayanagi of the Department of Law, who has charge of the comparative study of boycotts; Professor M. Royama of the Department of Public Administration, who was responsible for the study now published as *Japan's Position in Manchuria*, which provided a basis for much of the Round Table discussion at the 1929 Conference. The Japanese Council has taken an important part in the various cooperative international projects of the I.P.R. In 1929 an influential group of financial experts headed by Mr. M. Odagiri, formerly Governor of the Yokohama Specie Bank, collaborated in producing a report of Japanese investments in China as a contribution towards Professor C. F. Remer's international project. Members of the Japanese Council have similarly participated in Institute studies on tariffs and trade, on the status of aliens and on Pacific dependencies and colonial administration. Since 1933 the Council has undertaken several important projects as part of the international plan of investigation in the field of standards of living.

Netherlands and Netherlands-India. Although the Netherlands National Council of the I.P.R. has only been organized for some three years, the Institute as early as 1931 had the benefit of an important piece of research carried out by a distinguished scholar. At that time, the American Council arranged for an

English translation of Dr. A. de Kat Angelino's treatise, *Colonial Policy*, which was available for reference to Institute members at the 1931 Conference in Shanghai. Since the formation of the Council in the Netherlands, with its branch in Netherlands-India, further cooperation in the international research program has been assured. The Netherlands Council has arranged for contributions to the I.P.R. studies on status of aliens, commodity control and trade and tariffs. In addition to this, it has assumed responsibility for a small study of standards of living in Netherlands-India. In Holland it maintains close connections with the excellent research departments of the Royal Colonial Institute, while in Netherlands-India it naturally works closely with the Government Departments and the University of Batavia.

New Zealand. The New Zealand Council's participation in the international research programme has consisted for the most part of a study of land utilization in New Zealand. This was initiated at the 1929 Conference and entrusted to Dr. H. Belshaw, professor of economics at Auckland University College. In the preparation of the report which has recently been published as *Agricultural Organization in New Zealand*, the director had the cooperation of several government research bureaus in New Zealand and of members of the Massey Agricultural College.

Another contribution of the New Zealand Council was submitted in 1929 in the form of a collected volume of essays on political and economic problems in New Zealand under the title, *New Zealand Affairs*. More recently the Council has made plans to initiate a study of standards of living in New Zealand. The Council has five local groups in the principal cities of the Dominion and in each centre the work is usually done in close cooperation with members of the University.

Philippines. After the Philippines Council was admitted to Institute membership in 1931, the International Research Committee took steps to extend its studies of land utilization to this new area by arranging for a study of population redistribution within the islands. This work has involved a great deal of cooperation with the Departments of Sociology and Economics in the University of the Philippines. In the same way, the Philippine Council gave a great deal of assistance to the Institute's international study of dependencies and native populations and enabled the Director of that project to conduct a special study of

non-christian communities in the mountain province of the Philippines. At the present time several studies in the field of standards of living are being conducted under the auspices of the University of the Philippines.

Soviet Union. It was not until 1935 that an actively functioning National Council was established in the U.S.S.R. This Council consists of representatives from the most important Soviet organizations with interests in the Far East and the Pacific. Among these Institutions are the Scientific Editorial Institute of the Great Soviet World Atlas, the All-Union Society for Cultural Contacts with Foreign Countries, the Institute of Oceanography, the Supreme Board of the Great Northern Sea-passage, the Kamchatka Company, the Bank of Foreign Commerce, and the Pacific Ocean Cabinet of the Institute of World Economics and World Politics. The National Council is thus well placed to take full advantage of the remarkable research facilities of these official institutions.

As part of its own program of study, the National Council is arranging for the publication in English of a symposium on Far Eastern affairs to be published as a book of some 300 or 400 pages. Besides this, it is arranging for the publication of three monographs to be presented as papers to the Yosemite Conference. Its direct participation in the International Research program of the I.P.R. dates from 1935 when it contributed to the I.P.R. international study on the status of aliens. More recently it has undertaken a larger study of standards of living in the Soviet Union together with an inquiry into the cotton textile industry and cotton growing in the Soviet Union. Arrangements are now being made by the American Council of the Institute to issue an English translation of an important study by Mr. A. Kantorovich, one of the leading members of the Soviet Union Council. This will appear as a book entitled *America in the Struggle for China*.

Mention should also be made of the fact that the Pacific Cabinet of the Institute of World Economics and World Politics has established the monthly journal, *Tikii Okean* (Pacific Ocean), which makes available the results of important studies of direct interest to the I.P.R.

United States. The American Council, though it has relied relatively little on the international research fund for grants, has nevertheless carried out an impressive program of research.

Since the 1931 Conference it has been able to set up a small research staff in its own office, but it still has the good fortune to have excellent connections through the membership of its influential research committee with well-established American research bodies such as the American Geographical Society, the Food Research Institute of Stanford University, the Social Science Research Council, the Brookings Institution, Washington, and the American Council of Learned Societies. An adequate description of all its published studies would take more space than is possible here, and mention of only a few notable examples must suffice.

Two of its earliest researchs were products of the first two Institute conferences on immigration restriction, namely Professor Eliot G. Mears' *Resident Orientals on the American Pacific Coast* and Professor R. D. McKenzie's companion volume *Oriental Immigration*. Both projects had to do with questions that were at the time subjects of acute public controversy, and the value of such research led the American Council in 1930 to repeat the experiment with a more intensive inquiry into the problem of Filipino immigration to the United States at a time when that phenomenon threatened to grow into a matter of grave social strife on the Pacific Coast. The outcome of the inquiry was *Filipino Immigration* by Mr. Bruno Lasker of the American Council staff whose earlier book *Race Attitudes in Children* had been made available to the 1929 Conference.

The emphasis of that conference on the problems of Manchuria induced the Council to sponsor and publish a most exhaustive digest and analysis of treaties relating to Manchuria, entitled *International Relations of Manchuria*, (University of Chicago Press) by Professor C. Walter Young. At the same time it arranged for the distribution at the conference of a volume entitled *American Foreign Relations in the Caribbean* (Yale University Press) written by the late Mr. Charles P. Howland, then chairman of the International Research Committee. This study was not directly an Institute project, but part of the annual survey *American Foreign Relations* issued by the Council on Foreign Relations, New York. Its distribution at an Institute conference was calculated to provide a scientific basis for examining the assertion so often made in the last two years, namely that Japan's action in Manchuria is analagous to the regular policy of

the American government in dealing with the nations of Central America, and provides another example of the way in which the American Council has been able to avail itself of relevant outside research. Yet another example is the well-known book *War as an Instrument of National Policy* by the American research chairman, Dr. James T. Shotwell—a book that was indirectly a product of the 1927 Conference, and was used as a basis for discussion again in the 1929 meeting.

The two chief American studies submitted to the 1931 conference were *American Tariffs and Oriental Trade* written for the Council by Mr. Philip G. Wright, formerly of the Brookings Institution and now serving as director of the International research project on the coordination and extension of the existing Institute studies on Pacific tariffs and trade and secondly an investigation, based largely on sources hitherto inaccessible, by Mr. F. V. Field of the American research staff, published under the title *American Participation in the China Consortiums*. In 1934 the American Council made the valuable experiment of issuing a book of fairly general appeal on American relations with the Far East, but based on the results of I.P.R. research. This book edited by Mr. Joseph Barnes appeared under the title of *Empire in the East* and included essays from ten well-known authorities on Far Eastern affairs. Since 1931 the Council has done a valuable service in making available the results of research through its fortnightly memoranda, enlarged since 1934 into a regular research service entitled *Far Eastern Survey*. The Council's present participation in the current international research program has been described earlier in this review.

V. CURRENT INFORMATION vs. LONG-TERM RESEARCH.

The Institute in planning its research has continually had to face the question of how far its studies should deal with issues of immediate international concern, and how far it should ignore the recurring problems of political controversy in order to concentrate more systematically on the deeper-rooted and enduring social problems of the Pacific. In such an organization as the I.P.R. there could never be a question of choosing exclusively one or the other path for study. It has always been a question of dividing time and funds in the best proportion between the two. The

I.P.R. advance has been possible by using both types of attack in close mutual relation. Sometimes further progress (or even a start) has been checked for want of basic information (as on land, natural resources and population changes) which in western countries is usually provided by a census or official statistics. In such cases the I.P.R. has had to take up the elementary but difficult matter of collecting that information—of counting heads, or factories, measuring land, estimating crop yields, industrial output and food consumption. At other times progress has been retarded for lack of the very intellectual tools to deal with new problems in the Pacific, as for example the absence of any accepted statistical technique for comparisons of standards of living among peoples of widely differing cultures, or for the measurement of over-population and optimum population. In such cases the I.P.R. has occasionally had to support research in the underlying theoretical concepts of specific problems and it has accordingly sponsored studies of "population theory" (jointly with the Food Research Institute) and of the concept of the standard of living in economic theory. Similarly it has dealt with the broad laws concerning migration, colonization, colonial government and foreign trade and investment. In all of these studies the I.P.R. has done something more than bring new light to bear on an interesting and currently important Pacific problem; it has in many cases uncovered basic new facts or new intellectual tools needed for the advancement of general theoretical knowledge in several disciplines of the social sciences.

It is worth stressing this point for the full importance of such knowledge may not show itself at once. But in future years it may well be that generalizations and theories concerning population growth, the process of industrialization, changes in standards of living, or the determining forces in foreign investment, will be substantially modified as a result of new facts revealed in Far Eastern regions. Too much of current economic, social and political theory has its roots only in the conditions of 18th and 19th century Europe. There can be little doubt that a properly coordinated system of thought in the social sciences of the future will have to draw much more on the experience of countries which have not developed under the Western pattern of Greek political ideas, Roman organization, and nineteenth century English industrialism.

An examination of the large fields of research described in this report should make it clear that the I.P.R. has not concerned itself mainly with questions of merely current importance, the study of which does little to advance the frontiers of knowledge. But it should also be noticed that while aiding more fundamental researches, the I.P.R. has at all times been dealing with questions of decided contemporary interest. It has never gone into fields of purely academic interest, and even those studies which have a special importance in social or economic theory are at the same time concerned with questions demanding the almost daily action of the legislator and administrator as well as the study of the scholar. To the responsible authorities in China, Japan and Java, there is nothing remote and academic about studies of land utilization, standards of living and population or migration. These are the very stuff of which national policies are made. It is therefore not surprising to find that researchers in charge of I.P.R. research projects in the Far East have repeatedly been called in to advise national and local authorities on the initiation of policies.

More than that, many I.P.R. studies have often matured at moments when the particular problem under study had come into newspaper headlines and into the very centre of international political controversy. At times this has been simply fortunate coincidence; but often it has been because imagination and foresight were exercised in planning the program so that research could be started on a problem that threatened to flare up into controversy or conflict, several years in advance. Thus the American Council in 1931 made a full analysis of the problem of Filipino immigration to the United States, and thus to provide accurate information before prejudice and ignorance could ferment a local agitation into a major political and social conflict. As has been indicated elsewhere in this report, the Institute had completed and published five studies on the Manchurian problem eighteen months to two years before the matter became one of open international conflict. At the present time when the question of international machinery to give certain nations easier access to needed raw materials, has been raised at Geneva, the I.P.R. has produced a comprehensive survey of the actual working of commodity control schemes now in operation in Pacific countries. It will soon bring out an up-to-date study of Japanese administra-

tion in the North Pacific mandated islands, at a time when the whole question of Japanese and German colonial aims and needs is a matter of active public discussion. Similarly, it will shortly publish an extensive inquiry into the conditions of Chinese agriculture, rural population, food consumption and standards of living when the Chinese National Government is embarking on a far-reaching campaign of rural rehabilitation, which is almost certain to have important effects not only on foreign economic relations with China but on the course of diplomatic relations between China and Japan.

One reason why I.P.R. studies have been kept in close contact with current political and economic issues is that they have an essential rôle to play in the regular conferences. This characteristic of I.P.R. procedure, namely the close relation of discussion and research, is described elsewhere in this review. Here, however, it is worth noting that every one of the conferences has concerned itself with two or three current political issues then agitating public opinion in several countries, and that in each case the conference discussions have been reinforced and made realistic and authoritative by using the results of I.P.R. research planned and carried out in advance. At its first conference in 1925, the Institute laid the plans for research needed to understand the much discussed but little studied problems of population, migration and standards of living that surrounded the controversy over the American exclusion of Japanese immigrants in 1924. In later conferences the I.P.R. has dealt with such varying matters as the Manchurian problem, Sino-Japanese boycott, trade restrictions and international trade competition, foreign investments, the international status of Shanghai, conflict over raw materials and markets, economic reconstruction in China—all of them at the time matters of great public importance and most of them still live issues—and has in each case contrived to have the discussions based on the results of research either completed or in progress.

It seems certain that this use of research to elucidate and strengthen international discussion of pressing international controversies will not only be continued but extended in the future of the I.P.R. One reason for this is that with the increasing facilities for independent research in China under both official and private auspices, there may henceforth be less need for the

I.P.R. to undertake these expensive pioneer field investigations which it had to finance in earlier years simply because the elementary information could only be obtained in that way. Freed in some degree of this necessity and supplied with an increasing number of published reports giving the results of these inquiries, the Institute will probably be able to devote itself even more effectively to the task of informing public opinion through conferences and through the publication of books and pamphlets aimed at a wider audience but based on the findings of scientific investigation.

VI. RESEARCH POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION

Although the administration of the international research program has been kept flexible and is not hedged about with rigid rules of procedure, the Committee has adhered to certain broad principles of policy. In the first place the subject-matter of I.P.R. research has been limited by the terms of its grants from the Rockefeller Foundation to "research in the social sciences" and by the I.P.R. constitution to "study of the conditions of the Pacific peoples". This has meant that the Institute has not entered the field of the natural sciences and has on the whole kept away from such borderland subjects as economic geology, public health or archaeology. In addition to this, the Institute since 1929 has based its procedure on a set of general rules drawn up and revised from time to time by the research committee. These rules, as recently amended, take the form of criteria to be applied to the selection of subjects of research and projects in the international research program. They are as follows:—

I. SUBJECTS OF RESEARCH

(a) The appropriate subjects of research are those having a considerable bearing on the contemporary international relations of the states or territorial areas of the Pacific region as defined for representation in the Institute of Pacific Relations. Priority should be given, other things being equal, to subjects affecting the national relations of more than two Pacific countries.

(b) Subjects of research should have a special importance for the countries of the Pacific and not merely for all countries in general.

(c) In determining priority, equal consideration should be

given, on the one hand, to the fundamental importance of the subject as determined by a majority of the National Councils and expressed by their accredited representatives at a meeting of the International Research Committee, and, on the other hand, to the fact that international controversy has arisen or may arise out of the subject to be investigated.

(d) Subjects of research should be limited to questions which, while meeting the foregoing conditions, can also be shown to have a fundamental national or regional importance, and which accord with the expressed needs of the National Councils concerned.

(e) In selecting subjects of research, priority should be given, other things being equal, to those in which there is a considerable possibility of securing collaboration from research workers in several disciplines of the social sciences; and in the conduct of research arrangements should be made to secure at all possible stages the cooperation of workers in related disciplines.

2. PROJECTS

(f) Priority should be given, other things being equal, to projects for which data are already available or can easily be made available.

(g) Projects should ordinarily be so limited and defined at the outset as to be susceptible of completion within one or two years. In exceptional cases where this is not practicable, reports (in English) on substantial sections of the investigation should be submitted within each two-year period. All projects submitted for the consideration of the International Research Committee should contain a definite undertaking concerning the time in which the work, including the preparation of a manuscript for publication in English, shall be completed.

(h) Projects involving the expenditure of the international research funds of the Institute should be entrusted exclusively to the National Councils concerned, and no project should receive funds from the International Research Committee unless it has previously received the official endorsement of the Council concerned. National Councils should be the sole trustees of the funds granted on the projects by the International Research Committee.

Another point worthy of note is that the Institute, especially

in its early period has made special efforts to utilize the enthusiasm and intimate experience of local researchers and institutions already engaged in a project pertinent to the I.P.R. program rather than to build up a large staff of investigators at some central headquarters. While this has sometimes meant that the Institute received less credit for a particular project than if the work had been done by its own staff, it has served to lay a much sounder basis for future research in the countries concerned, has helped to develop the Institute's own National Councils as research centres and has kept the Institute as a whole from taking up ambitious paper-schemes of research which, however interesting to the theorist, have little value for the regions or countries studied. Related to this policy of supporting the National Councils and local research bodies is the practice of requiring that grants from the I.P.R. funds be supplemented whenever possible by contributions from outside sources. This has had the valuable result of stimulating active local interest in the research projects and has made possible a much greater financial backing than would otherwise be secured, as may be seen from the figures of local contributions shown in the Appendix.

In its attempt to foster international cooperation in research, the Institute has sometimes arranged for an interchange of Oriental and Western scholars to take part in the conduct of an investigation. For instance, in the case of the study of living standards in south China as influenced by migration, Professor Ta Chen of the China Council and Mr. Bruno Lasker of the American Council collaborated. At other times it has asked mature students from abroad to write interpretive reports based on the results of field investigations by experienced local workers. In this manner both Professor R. H. Tawney and Dr. K. A. Wittfogel have carried out work under I.P.R. auspices in China. More recently an effort has been made to secure the cooperation of Chinese and Japanese researchers in the execution of projects in the United States, the American Council having made a beginning by using the services of Mr. Leonard Wu of the Institute of Social Sciences, Academia Sinica, Nanking. Before and after the 1933 Conference, the Secretariat of the I.P.R. was assisted by research workers lent by the Chinese and Japanese Councils and assigned to work on the preparation of the Institute's *Economic Handbook of the Pacific*.

The administrative machinery of the research program is not elaborate. Research like other aspects of the Institute's work is under the general control of the governing body, the Pacific Council, but in practice the latter delegates the work to a standing advisory committee, called the International Research Committee. This consists of members appointed by each National Council, these usually being the local secretaries or chairmen in charge of research activities in the National Councils. There is also a presiding International Research Chairman appointed by the Pacific Council and a permanent Research Secretary. The latter is a member of the Institute Secretariat under the direction of the Secretary-General, and participates in the editorial or conference work such as the editing of special publications or the editing of the Conference Proceedings. He is expected to spend a fair proportion of time visiting research workers in the National Councils. For eight months in 1931 and for 12 months in 1934, the office of the Research Secretary has been in China and Japan respectively and since September 1935 it has been in New York. For most of the earlier years except for periods of travel, it was at Honolulu.

Inasmuch as the committee has an opportunity to meet only at intervals of two or three years at the time of the regular I.P.R. conferences, much of the detailed administrative work and a good many interim decisions necessarily devolve on the chairman and secretary, who are given discretionary powers to act without necessarily consulting the whole committee. Financially, the research work is carried out through the ordinary office channels in the secretariat and is subject to the same procedure of auditing as the rest of the Institute's budget. It has been made a rule that financial alterations of the research budget approved by the International Research Committee and Pacific Council, may be made by the research secretary and chairman, but with the knowledge and approval of the Institute Treasurer and the Secretary-General.

The work of the committee at its regular meeting needs no elaborate description. It is charged with reviewing and appraising the final or progress reports on research projects previously authorized; arranging for coordination of cooperative studies; considering requests for grants; initiating new researches; and allocating the money at its disposal to the best possible advantage.

There are no set rules of procedure in the committee meeting and a practice is made of co-opting the services of experts attending the conference and of maintaining close touch with the program and press committees of the conference. Careful watch is kept in the round table discussions for important questions which seem to call for special research and the committee is ready to receive suggestions of this type from any individual or group in the conference. Other projects which originate outside the conference must come through the appropriate national research secretary and with the knowledge and approval of the national council.

In April, 1935, the Institute for the first time made the experiment of holding a special conference on research midway between meetings of the regular conferences enabling research workers from six national councils to compare notes on progress and methods of investigation.

The Banff conference of the Institute marked the beginning of a new phase in the administration of the research program. Up to that time the Research Committee had been largely concerned with strengthening existing research institutions and supporting promising men who had already undertaken projects pertinent to the Institute program. This procedure was made necessary by the fact that facilities for research in several Far Eastern countries were seriously deficient, and that in consequence a more uniform plan of research involving similar projects in all Pacific countries could not be put into effect. This situation had changed appreciably by 1933. Largely because of greater support for research from governmental bodies and local institutions, research in the social sciences in China was greatly expanded and strengthened. The Institute thus believed that it could henceforth begin to work more according to a uniform plan of studies, carried out along similar lines in several countries. As one of the first topics for this systematic study, the Committee chose the subject of standards of living, making this choice after consideration of what subjects would lend themselves to cooperative work in various countries and at the same time have an appreciable bearing on current international controversies. The experiment of concentrating more systematically for a period in one field of research, does not mean that it is irrevocably committed to this course, or that it proposes to sacrifice the flexibility

of its earlier procedure. In a body with ten national units so widely different in composition and organization as the national councils of the I.P.R., no rigid system of identical parallel studies in the separate countries could be carried out and have anything more than a remote academic interest. The Institute has taken special notice of this fact, and has explicitly recognised that research projects must not merely fit into the general plan of the I.P.R. program, but must be shown to have a considerable national interest and a bearing on contemporary international relations.

The above change in the nature of the research program has a certain bearing on the question of research staff attached to the Secretariat. Although the Institute is not likely to reverse its former policy and establish a large corps of research workers at some central office, it is probable that increasing need will be felt for two or three "research fellows" with considerable experience in Japanese, Chinese and Russian research work to be attached to the Secretariat but working mainly in the field or in the offices of other National Councils. Formal arrangements for such a scheme will be completed at the Yosemite Conference.

VII. RELATIONS BETWEEN RESEARCH AND CONFERENCE.

In considering the progress of research it has been necessary at several points in this review to discuss the various Institute conferences. It is, in fact, hardly possible to understand either the research program or the conference procedure except by looking on them as inseparable parts of the same process. To many Institute members this fact is too familiar to need repetition, but among others there has been misunderstanding of the two functions of research and conference, so that a further word of explanation may be in order. The central purpose of the Institute has indeed been defined in almost these very words, namely to provide "carefully organized group discussion preceded and followed by a continuous process of study and research".

The newcomer to an Institute conference may at first see little to justify these remarks, since the proceedings will seem to him to be essentially a series of discussions by influential and informed persons on subjects of common international interest. It may occur to him that to organize such a meeting and to pro-

vide the documents with which he is supplied at the assembly, must have involved drawing up programs of research in the various national councils. But unless he attends the meetings of the International Research Committee and the Program Committee, he may still be ignorant of the distinctive function of the Institute. He would there see that the conference program was drawn up only after consultation between these two committees so as to insure that discussion will not lead away into unprofitable speculation on the one hand, or on the other, degenerate into obstinate argument that grows more heated as it becomes less securely founded on ascertained facts. Moreover, he would observe that, on occasion, a round table chairman might halt the discussion at a point where argument of this sort seemed likely to arise, and suggest that the point of dispute be referred to the research committee as one needing further study. Suggestions of this sort are then passed on, and, if they are practicable, are drafted by the committee into projects for individuals to undertake, or for the national councils to study cooperatively. At the close of the conference he would find that the Program Committee in drawing up its preliminary recommendations for the agenda of the next conference, was working with an eye on the projects in the research program which would mature at that time and thus provide reliable information on which to base discussion.

Conversely, the research work derives no little benefit from the conference. It provides a meeting place for scholars of several lands to discuss their common technical problems, and thus enables the individual worker to see that his work is made comparable with that of his colleague overseas. More than that, the researcher almost always finds that, by taking part in a round table discussion, even where the majority of members are not experts, his own conception of his study is widened and clarified by suggestions and questions raised during the course of the discussion. The Institute has found it a stimulating and fruitful procedure to submit even fairly technical researches to the consideration of the intelligent layman in this way. While it is not true that the research is formulated solely by the conference members themselves, there are very few of the Institute's projects so far removed from practical politics as not to be vitalized and benefited by the critical discussion of the lay members.

Any body set up for the study of international affairs must of necessity dissipate a good deal of its energies and fail to yield the fullest benefits to its members, if its activities are limited to a series of isolated events called conferences or annual meetings, unconnected by any continuous program of study or machinery for regular interchange of opinion. Even in a single country this is often true, especially if the country be one like Australia or China where the constituent local groups of the organization are widely separated. Still more is it true of a body like the Institute of Pacific Relations where there is an additional and greater problem of keeping constant contact between different national units. For many of these units, especially in the first six years of the I.P.R., the main thread connecting one conference with the next has been the continuing program of research.

VIII. THE VALUE OF THE WORK

What are the products and by-products of the Institute's research work? Like all research worthy of the name its central purpose is to bring light into dark places, and its essential validity is not necessarily impaired by the sad fact that governments, no less than men, having seen the light, may yet prefer darkness. It has been shown that the Institute conferences owe much of their value to the research on which the discussions are based. Therefore to the extent that one can point with reasonable certainty to cases where official policy has been swayed by the results of Institute conferences, one can see at least an indirect product of the research programs.

But over and above that, the tangible products in the shape of books and reports are many and valuable. The Institute's publications are increasingly quoted and consulted by students and public men in many countries, or used as a basis for university teaching and courses of adult education. Some again have earned a reputation not because they were popular with the general reader, but rather because they represented pioneer studies in important untouched fields of investigation. Professor Remer's work on investments in China, Professor Buck's on Chinese agriculture, Mr. Lasker's on Filipino immigration, and Professor Fong's on Chinese Industrialization, are typical examples. Others, such as the group of studies on Manchurian questions, came to play a significant rôle in furnishing part of the factual

background for the Lytton Commission report on the Sino-Japanese dispute. The variety and diversified appeal of the various reports is demonstrated in the Institute's classified catalogue *Publications on the Pacific*.⁷

Nevertheless, the published results of the researches are but a part of the real value of the work. For in countries like China and Japan where organized research in the social sciences on the scale of the western world is out of the question, a grant given by the Institute is not only a means of securing, at a relatively low cost, scientific information on a little-understood problem. It is also a stimulus to the establishment of permanent centres of research, for the training of students in habits of accurate scientific inquiry. Indeed it is often more than training merely students; it means the training of indispensable public servants equipped with the expert knowledge needed for the conduct of a modern State. This was amply demonstrated when the Chinese Government found itself faced in the autumn of 1931 with a flood disaster of unparalleled magnitude, and with the urgent necessity of devising schemes of relief. For the information needed to draw up a plan of action, it turned to the only large body of trained men in China who were competent and at hand to carry out a technical survey of flood conditions and of damages sustained by the peasants, and was able to mobilize the services of I.P.R. investigators from the University of Nanking. Their completed work was of such value that the Government again commissioned the same staff to carry out a later survey of war-losses in the country districts outside Shanghai, after the Japanese attack in 1932, and has repeatedly enlisted their aid for its more recent surveys of the provinces included in its rural reconstruction program.

The system of using research grants to encourage the raising of local funds and its policy of concentrating its work as far as possible in a few institutions at a time, have proved their value in at least one notable instance. The Department of Economics at Nankai University, Tientsin, is one such institution where a good many Institute projects have been entrusted since 1928. By 1931 the director of the Department had so far been able to demonstrate the value of its work that he could secure money

⁷ See Part II.

from Chinese and foreign sources, for the establishment of what is now the Nankai Institute of Economics—perhaps the leading centre for economic research in all China.

There are still other by-products of great importance especially in the Far East. By concentrating its funds in a few centres where men and facilities for research are assured, rather than by dissipating its forces in ambitious paper plans of investigation framed without due regard to the possibility of securing the right men at the appropriate time, the Institute has done much to vitalize the teaching of social science subjects in Chinese and Japanese universities. The complaint so often heard from observers of education in lands such as India or China or the Philippines, that the teaching of these subjects is far too formal and unrelated to the student's own experience, is often only too true. But what is seldom remembered is that this condition arises, inevitably, either out of the lack of text books other than foreign ones, or out of the absence of facilities for practical study of the analogous problems at home, which alone can give the subject meaning. And so to carp at, say, Chinese students of economics or sociology for being pedantic students of American or English economic and social systems while knowing next to nothing of the fundamentals of their own vast economic system, is foolish and profitless, unless one is willing to provide teachers with opportunities for research that will make it possible to teach on the basis of ascertained facts about China's own industries and agriculture. Without it one cannot blame either teacher or student if his thought becomes abstract and dogmatic, and more concerned (to quote a Chinese economist's remark) with panaceas for his country's salvation, than with the patient and steady application of intelligence to some small constructive work.

Thanks partly to Institute research projects difficulties like these are being overcome at such institutions as Nankai University and the University of Nanking. Because teachers there are also researchers, they are able to apply their research to their class-work, or to write their own text-books from Chinese source materials. Students learn of rural cooperation not only from books on Danish and German cooperatives, but also by helping to organize societies, perhaps for marketing or for seed-purchasing, in a nearby Chinese village. They learn of industrial evolution by studying crafts, domestic industries and

factories in Tientsin, and of local government by studying the organization of Chinese villages and hsien. Their learning is thus not an alien bookish thing but a present reality rooted in the life about them. Those who have read the prospectus of the Nankai Institute of Economics must certainly have been struck with the emphasis put on its two main functions: first, "to teach economics on a national basis", and second, "to vitalize teaching by means of research". Future students of the growth of modern education in China may look back on 1932 as marking an important date when economics was first taught in their country from Chinese text-books, prepared on the basis of the teachers' own researches into Chinese economic life.

In the nine years of life, the Institute research program has naturally encountered criticisms on a number of points. Some of these have been constructive and have been acted upon. Others have been largely ill-founded or based on misapprehensions which it is to be hoped this review will partly remove. But there is one criticism which the Institute will always take very seriously whenever it is heard—that is the assertion that research is resulting only in books which serve no other purpose than to gather dust in libraries. What has been said in the previous paragraph should go a long way to refute this charge for China and Japan. If it is true of other national groups in the Institute, it is not necessarily because the research is at fault, but probably because the groups have not set up the necessary machinery for bringing the results of research into the press, or the school or the public platform, where they can act more directly on social attitudes. There is undoubtedly a place for something more, namely an International Education or Publication Committee which shall be the agency through which the products of specialized research will make their influence felt on governments and leaders. However much Institute research is to change in direction or in policy during its next decade, there will always be an evident need for such an educational body to supplement the more limited functions of the research committee.

APPENDIX

RESEARCH PROGRAM FOR 1928 AND 1929

		1928	1929
<i>Australian Council</i>			
Publication grant for <i>Peopling of Australia</i>	..	\$ 600.00	
Publication of <i>Studies in Australian Affairs</i>	..	600.00	
<i>China Council</i>			
Hsu: The Manchurian Problem	..	500.00	500.00
Hsiao: Statistical Survey of Manchuria	..	2,000.00	2,000.00
Buck: Land Utilization in China	..	1,700.00	10,600.00
Ho and Fong: Industrialization in Tientsin	..		8,000.00
Lieu: The Chinese Cotton Industry	..		600.00
Chen: Translation of Manchurian Documents	..	500.00	500.00
Studies of Tariff Revision	..		2,000.00
<i>Royal Institute</i>			
Hinton: Emigration to British Malaya	..	1,000.00	500.00
<i>Japanese Council</i>			
Nasu: Land Utilization in Japan	..	3,250.00	3,250.00
Royama: Japan's Position in Manchuria	..	500.00	500.00
Japanese Council: Western Influences in Modern Japan	..		1,000.00
<i>New Zealand Council</i>			
Publication of <i>New Zealand Affairs</i>	..		600.00
<i>American Council</i>			
Grant for conference preparation, including publication of Young, "International Relations of Manchuria"	..		3,400.00
<i>Administrative Charges</i>	..	1,519.20	49.70
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		\$12,169.20	\$33,499.70

GRANTS FROM THE SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

*(Funds assigned to other organizations at the instance of the
I.P.R. research committee in 1928)*

Alsberg and Swen: Trend of Consumption of Agricultural Products in Eastern Asia (Food Research Institute)	..	..	..	\$ 7,500.00
Alsberg and Penrose: Trend of Pacific Agriculture from Subsistence to Cash-crop Farming (Food Research Institute)	..	..	..	7,500.00
Remer: International Economic and Financial Relations of China (Brookings Institution)	..	..	..	17,000.00
Cressey: The Geography of China	..	..	..	1,600.00
Chamberlain: The Development of Neutrality	..	..	..	7,000.00
				<hr/>
				\$40,600.00

RESEARCH PROGRAM FOR 1930 AND 1931

<i>Australian Council</i>		<i>1930</i>	<i>1931</i>
Publication of <i>Australian Mandate in New Guinea</i>	\$ 600.00		
<i>China Council</i>			
Hsu: The Manchurian Problem	500.00		
Buck: Land Utilization in China	15,000.00	15,000.00	
Ho and Fong: Industrialization in Tientsin	4,000.00		
Ho: Chinese Migration to Manchuria	7,500.00	7,500.00	
Tawney: Agriculture and Industry in China	2,500.00		
Lieu: Industrialization in Shanghai		8,000.00	
China Council: Grant for conference preparation			3,500.00
<i>Royal Institute</i>			
Coatman: Trade of British Pacific Dominions			2,000.00
<i>Japanese Council</i>			
Nasu: Land Utilization in Japan	3,970.00	3,250.00	
Royama: Japan's Position in Manchuria	500.00		
Nasu: Rural Social Life in Japan	1,500.00	1,500.00	
Asari: Japanese Industrial Development	1,250.00	1,250.00	
Takayanagi: Comparative Study of Boycotts	3,750.00	3,750.00	
Japanese Council: Grant for conference preparation			2,000.00
<i>New Zealand Council</i>			
Belshaw: Land Utilization in New Zealand	2,000.00	2,000.00	
<i>American Council</i>			
Grant for conference preparation, including publication of Lasker, "Filipino Immigration"	4,500.00	2,750.00	
<i>Other Projects</i>			
(Under Secretariat auspices)			
Keesing: Government of Pacific Dependencies	4,500.00	3,500.00	
Lee: Land Utilization in Korea	2,500.00	2,500.00	
McKenzie: Status of Aliens in the Pacific (coordination)		1,000.00	
Publication of <i>Memorandum on Agriculture and Industry in China</i> , by R. H. Tawney			500.00
<i>Administrative Charges</i>			
	1,878.77	46.23	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	\$56,448.77	\$60,046.23	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	

RESEARCH PROGRAM FOR 1932 AND 1933

	1932	1933
<i>Australian Council</i>		
Land Utilization in Australia	\$ 1,500.00	750.00
White Settlement in Tropical Australia		750.00
<i>China Council</i>		
Buck: Land Utilization in China	10,000.00	10,000.00
Ho: Chinese Settlement in Manchuria (1933 grant later withdrawn)	5,000.00	
Chang: District Government in North China	2,500.00	2,500.00
Pan: Humanism in China	1,000.00	1,000.00
Fong: Rural Industries in North China		2,000.00
China Council: Publication grant		1,000.00
<i>Royal Institute</i>		
Coatman and Windett: Trade of British Pacific Dominions		1,000.00
<i>Japanese Council</i>		
Nasu: Land Utilization in Japan	5,000.00	5,000.00
Nasu: Rural Social Life in Japan		
Araki: Silver Fluctuations and Pacific Trade	2,500.00	2,500.00
Yanaihara: Japanese Dependencies and Colonial Policy	2,000.00	2,000.00
Saito and Matsumiya: Japanese Family System	2,000.00	2,000.00
Japanese Council: Grant for conference preparation		1,000.00
<i>New Zealand Council</i>		
Belshaw: Land Utilization in New Zealand		500.00
<i>Philippine Council</i>		
Macaraig: Population Re-distribution in the Philippines	2,500.00	2,500.00
<i>American Council</i>		
Grant for conference preparation	4,500.00	
Cressey: The Geography of China		500.00
<i>Publication Reserve Fund</i>	1,000.00	2,375.67
<i>Other Projects</i>		
(Under Secretariat auspices)		
Alberg: Coordination of Land Utilization Studies	500.00	1,000.00
Wright: Coordination of Tariff and Trade Studies	500.00	1,000.00
Keesing: Pacific Dependencies	4,000.00	1,214.00
Field: <i>Economic Handbook of the Pacific</i>		2,000.00
<i>Secretariat Expenses</i>		
Preparation of maps for Banff Conference	352.69	
Research Assistants' Travel and Salaries	2,000.00	2,000.00
Bank Charges	50.07	84.59
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$46,902.76	\$44,674.26

RESEARCH PROGRAM FOR 1934

1934

Canadian Institute

Innis: Standards of Living in Canada 2,000.00

China Council

Chang: District Government in North China	2,500.00
Fong: Rural Industries in China	2,500.00
Chen: Standards of Living in Tobacco Producing Regions	1,000.00
Lieu: Standards of Living in Silk Producing Regions	1,000.00
Chen: Standards of Living and Migration in South China	4,000.00
Buck: Land Utilization	5,000.00

Japanese Council

Uyeda: Standards of Living in Export Industries	1,000.00
Nasu: Standards of Living in Agriculture	1,000.00
Inoma: Standards of Living of Municipal Workers	1,000.00
Bibliography of Standard of Living Studies	600.00
Study of National Income Distribution	400.00

International Labour Office

Report on Standards of Living Inquiries 1,500.00

Royal Institute of International Affairs

Gregory: Concept of Standard of Living 1,000.00

American Council

Wentworth: Standards of Living in Hawaii	1,500.00
Heller Committee: Standards of Living in San Francisco	2,000.00
Bibliography of Standard of Living Studies	750.00
Lorwin: Monograph on World Social Philosophies	500.00
Hawaii Group: High School Teaching Unit on China	750.00

Secretariat

Lasker: Cooperation in South China Standards of Living Study	4,000.00
Research Administration	2,450.00

Publication Reserve

3,000.00

Bank Charges

99.80

\$39,549.80

RESEARCH EXPENDITURES FOR 1935 AND
WORKING BUDGET FOR 1936

		1935	1936*
<i>Australian Institute</i>			
Standards of Living .....	..	\$1,500.00	
Press and Public Opinion .....	..	1,000.00	
<i>Canadian Institute</i>			
Standards of Living .....	..	\$2,000.00	
Press and Public Opinion .....	..	2,500.00	
<i>China Institute</i>			
Land Utilization and Population in China .....	..	2,500.00	
Press and Public Opinion .....	..	2,000.00	
Chinese in Siam .....	..	2,000.00	
Living Standards in Tea-Growing Regions of China .....	..	2,000.00	
Living Standards in Cotton Regions of China .....	..	1,500.00	
Translation and Editorial Expenses .....	..	1,000.00	
<i>Food Research Institute</i>			
Monograph on Standards of Living .....	..	1,500.00	
<i>Japanese Council</i>			
Living Standards of Municipal Employees .....	..	500.00	
Living Standards of Agricultural Workers .....	..	1,000.00	
Labour Conditions in the Cotton Industry .....	..	1,000.00	
Living Standards in Smaller Export Industries .....	..	2,100.00	
Bibliography on Japanese Living Standards .....	..	500.00	
Distribution of Japanese National Income .....	..	1,000.00	
Translation and Editorial Expenses .....	..	
<i>Netherlands Council</i>			
Living Standards in Netherlands India .....	..	500.00	
<i>New Zealand Institute</i>			
Standards of Living .....	..	1,200.00	
Press and Public Opinion .....	..	500.00	
<i>Philippine Council</i>			
Standards of Living .....	..	1,200.00	
Press and Public Opinion .....	..	300.00	
Re-distribution of Philippine Population .....	..	500.00	
<i>Royal Institute</i>			
British Textile Industry .....	..	2,500.00	
Press and Public Opinion .....	..	1,000.00	
	<i>Carried forward</i>	\$22,600.00	\$11,700.00

* Budget as of April 15, 1936.

		1935	1936*
<i>American Council</i>	<i>Brought forward</i>	\$22,600.00	\$11,700.00
American-Japanese Competition in Textiles		3,000.00	2,000.00
Administrative Standards of Living		1,000.00	
Living Standard of Plantation Workers in Hawaii		2,000.00	
Distribution of American National Income		1,000.00	
Far Eastern News in the American Press		1,000.00	1,000.00
Recent Developments in the Far East		3,000.00	
<i>Secretariat</i>			
Frontiers of Inner Asia		3,000.00	
Migration and Living Standards in South China		2,000.00	
Assistance in Chinese Standard of Living Studies		1,500.00	
Assistance in Press and Public Opinion Studies		1,500.00	
Share of Research Department Administration		3,600.00	3,600.00
Translations, Bibliography, Editorial Expenses			6,000.00
Publication Reserve		3,000.00	1,500.00
		<hr/> \$45,200.00	<hr/> \$28,800.00
Bank Charges		94.30	
		<hr/> \$45,294.30	<hr/> \$28,800.00

* Budget as of April 15, 1936.

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURES OF THE INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH FUND

Year	Annual Grants from Rockefeller Foundation	Other Revenue Royalties, etc.	Expenditure
1928	10,000.00	2,169.20	12,169.20
1929	50,000.00	—	33,499.70
1930	50,000.00	—	56,448.77
1931	50,000.00	—	60,046.23
1932	50,000.00	21.79	46,902.76
1933	50,000.00	33.98	44,674.26
1934	50,000.00	—	39,549.80
1935	50,000.00	298.20	45,294.30
1936	35,000.00	550.00 (a)	28,800.00 (b)

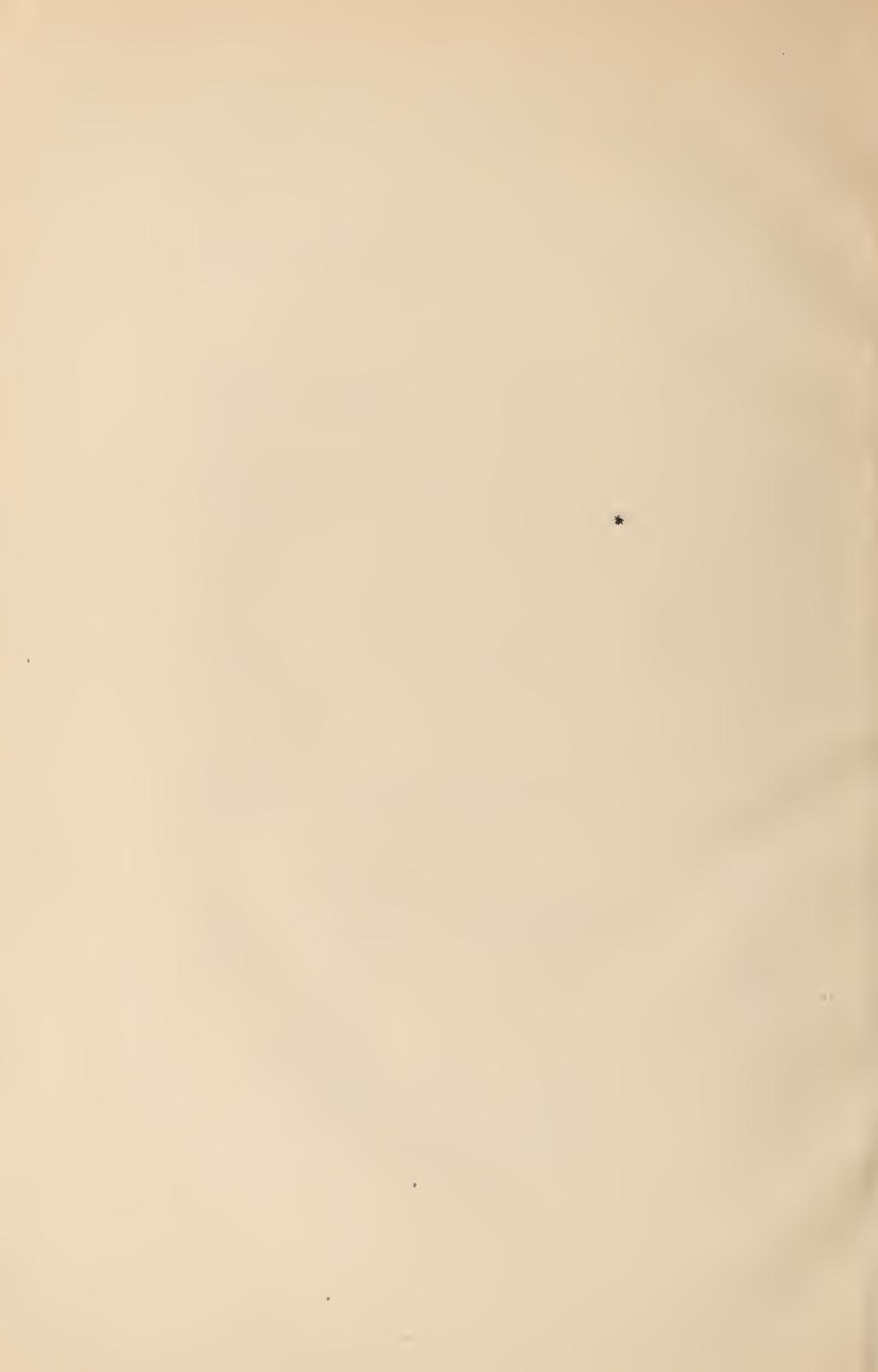
(a) Estimate.

(b) Budget estimate for Jan.-Aug. 1936.

SUPPLEMENTARY NATIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO I.P.R. RESEARCH

Expenditures on research incurred by National Councils, national research organizations and the Secretariat on I.P.R. projects and publications from sources other than the annual grants of the Rockefeller Foundation.

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935
	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
Australia	1,500.50	1,000.00	60.00	—	1,178.00	—	—
Canada	100.00	—	600.00	—	1,470.00	2,085.38	421.52
China	3,624.50	28,408.00	28,847.00	26,242.79	51,724.30	58,008.49	56,840.68
Great Britain	3,216.05	4,686.28	6,087.00	5,874.21	4,823.63	4,558.739	5,934.00
Japan	3,554.46	4,240.00	9,831.00	8,268.00	13,390.79	4,708.84	10,162.00
New Zealand	—	—	—	—	—	—	395.00
Philippines	—	—	—	—	169.94	—	253.92
United States	18,710.74	19,693.90	20,597.31	11,777.22	15,087.61	18,956.38	20,281.22
National Contributions	30,706.25	58,028.18	66,022.31	52,735.22	87,844.27	88,436.48	94,288.34
Secretariat Expenditures	13,347.90	12,560.69	10,943.00	3,478.65	4,100.00	4,300.00	2,935.32
Total	44,054.15	70,588.87	76,065.31	56,213.87	91,944.27	92,736.48	97,223.66



[CONTINUED FROM INSIDE FRONT COVER]

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Research Committee Member	Jorge Bocobo
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